

A LIFE OF THE EARL OF MAYO.

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A LIFE OF THE EARL OF MAYO,

FOURTH VICEROY OF INDIA.

BY W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D.,

OF HER MAJESTY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE;

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; HONORARY OR FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE
ROYAL INSTITUTE OF NETHERLANDS INDIA AT THE HAGUE, OF THE INSTITUTO VASCO
DA GAMA OF PORTUGUESE INDIA, OF THE DUTCH SOCIETY IN JAVA, AND OF
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY, LONDON; HONORARY FELLOW OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA; ORDINARY FELLOW OF THE
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, &c.

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P R E F A C E.

I BEG to acknowledge my obligations to Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Burne, C.S.I., for constant and valuable assistance in preparing these volumes. Colonel Burne, as Private Secretary to Lord Mayo in India, saw the whole area of the Viceroy's daily work, and has kindly drawn up for me a sketch of it in each department. These papers, with a more technical *procès* prepared in the several Secretariats, have guided me to the original documents which form the basis of the book. I only regret that the task of biographer was not undertaken by one who is in many respects better qualified to do it justice than I am.

To Mr. Robert Barclay Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service, I owe most of the materials for the narrative of Lord Mayo's financial administration. Mr. Chapman, as Financial Secretary to the Government of India during the past seven years, enjoys the advantage of knowing the actual facts of Lord Mayo's reforms, both in their inception and in their results. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C., the Legal

Member of Council during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, has kindly written the Legislative chapter for me, and enhanced the favour by permitting me to print it in his own words. To the Honourable Sir John Strachey, of the Bengal Civil Service, I owe some interesting materials; indeed, a paper written by him shortly after Lord Mayo's death first suggested the idea of this work.

The earlier chapters have been written from documents supplied by Lord Mayo's family; and to them I would express my obligations for much valuable advice.

In conclusion, I beg it to be understood that this book possesses no element of official authority. The able men who laboured around Lord Mayo in India, soldier and civilian alike, have felt that a faithful record should be preserved of the real and noble work which he did for that country. To this end, documents have been placed at my disposal by the Heads of the various Departments. But it would be a poor requital for the materials which I have thus received, if any doubt were to arise as to the purely personal responsibility that rests with me for the use which I have made of them. The reader will find that most of the statements and views in the chapters on Indian policy are derived from Lord Mayo's writings, and, whenever convenient, are reproduced in his own words. Such quotations must be taken as the expres-

sion of his individual opinion. The Viceroy is the head, and should occasion arise the absolute head, of the administration in India; but it would be a public misfortune if the words of any single servant of the Crown, however exalted, were to be confounded with the deliberate policy of Her Majesty's Indian Government.

6 GROSVENOR STREET, EDINBURGH,
1875.

ERRATA.

Page 95. line 19, for *Buttons* read *Button*.

„ 124, „ 27, for *Coffee* read *Cotton*.

• „ 163, „ 20, for *Mereweather* read *Merewether*.

„ 166, „ 18, for *Jiranda* read *Jiranda*.

„ 167, „ 17, for *Jiranda* read *Jiranda*.

„ 180 „ 5. for *had* read *has*.

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A LIFE OF LORD MAYO.

CHAPTER I.

HOME INFLUENCES.—[*Æt.* 1-21.]

RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE, sixth Earl of Mayo, was born in Dublin on the 21st February 1822. He came of a lineage not unknown throughout the seven centuries of unrest which make up Irish history. Henry II., at the time of the Strongbow invasion, sent over his kinsman, William Fitzadelm de Burgh, with Hugh de Lacie, to receive the submission of the native kings of Connaught and Meath. Fitzadelm was the fifth in descent from the famous John de Burgh, Earl of Comyn in Normandy, for whom the heralds derive a pedigree from Charlemagne, and whose son married Arlette, or Herleva, the mother of William the Conqueror. The de Burgh of 1066 fought by the side of his half-brother, William, at Hastings, and received as his share of the spoil the earldom of Cornwall, with 793 manors. He figures in Mr. Freeman's history as the 'insatiable brother of Mortain,' who rises by his valour and greed, from the humble 'lordship of the castle by the water-

falls,' to the great Cornish earldom.¹ His son mingled in the intrigues of his now royal kinsmen; rebelled, was forfeited, and had his eyes put out. But one grandson of this unfortunate earl retrieved the family fortunes in England, while another planted them with a more abiding root in Ireland. To the former, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Shakespeare gives a leading part in King John; conspicuously in the memorable prison scene, in which Hubert, amid a tempest of conflicting feelings, slowly relents towards Prince Arthur as the hot irons cool in his hands, and saves the life which he had been sent to destroy. The other grandson was the William Fitzadelm de Burgh commissioned to Ireland by Henry II. to receive the allegiance of the native kings. In 1175 it fell to his lot to publish the Bull which confirmed the King of England as Lord of Ireland. In 1177 he succeeded Strongbow as chief governor of the island, and, having acquired great territories in Connaught, died in 1204.

From him sprang a number of warlike families; now chiefly represented, after many mischances of forfeiture and lapse, by the Earls-Marquesses of Clan-

¹ The authentic appearances of this Robert in Freeman's *Norman Conquest* are as follow:—Vol. iii., 'the lord of the castle by the water-falls,' p. 286; at Hastings and in Senlac battle beside his brother William, p. 464; one in the fight of the 'three valiant brethren on either side,' p. 484-6. Vol. iv., his grants of land after the Conquest, p. 39; 'William's insatiable brother of Mortain,' pp. 166, 168, 272; Earl of Cornwall, p. 169-70; his vast possessions, p. 168. As regards the origin of the Bourke family, I have followed the pedigree accepted by the Heralds, and published in the ordinary books which deal with that class of inquiries. An able article in the *Spectator* of March 31, 1866, suggests the difficulties and uncertainties in the commonly received lineage. The Arlette or Herleva of Freeman is the Arlotta of the heralds, daughter of the Tanner of Falaise.

ricarde and the Earls of Mayo.¹ The supremacy of Henry II. in Ireland had been rather in name than in fact, even during the first years of Strongbow's conquest, and the connection of the Irish de Burghs with the English Court soon became a shadowy one. The crusade and captivity of Richard I., with the feeble reign of John, set free the English nobles in Ireland from control. They found the Irish ill-armed and disunited, and they carved out principalities for themselves amid the general misrule. Hallam specially mentions the de Courcy and the de Burgh of that day as having thus 'encroached' on the natives; and the precise meaning of the word may be gathered from the notices of those two gentlemen in the *Annals*

¹ Among the honours claimed for various branches of the de Burghs are:—In France—Earl of Comyn, Baron of Tonsburgh (Eustace de Burgh, whence the Viscounts Vesci); a daughter *m.* Fulk, Earl of Anjou, afterwards King of Jerusalem (1131). In England—Earl of Kent (Harlowen); Earl of Cornwall (1068). Later, the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of the Ulster de Burghs, married the Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., who became in right of his wife fourth Earl of Ulster. Their only daughter, Philippa, married Edward Mortimer, third Earl of March, who was the ancestor (through his grand-daughter, Lady Anne Mortimer, married to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge) of Edward IV., King of England. Baron Burgh; Baron Gainsborough (Burrough); also the Clanricarde honours in England, mentioned below. In Ireland—Lord of Connaught; Earl of Ulster (by marriage with the heiress of de Lacie); Baron of Dunkellin; Lord Leitrim; Earl of Clanricarde; Baron Somerhill and Viscount Tunbridge in the English peerage; and Earl of St. Albans, also in the English peerage; Viscount Burke of Clahmories; Marquess of Clanricarde (1644, 1785, 1825); Baron Brittas (1617); Lord Bophin (by James II. after his abdication); Baron Tyaquin and Viscount Galway, killed at Aughrim; Baron Castle-Connell; Viscount Mayo, extinct; Marquis of Mayo (by Philip II. of Spain); Baron Downes (1822); Baron of Naas (1776); Viscount Mayo of Monycrower (1781); Earl of Mayo (1785). The above list is derived from Sir Bernard Burke's *Peerage*, supplemented by materials supplied by Mr. W. M. Bourke, barrister, Calcutta.

of the Four Masters.¹ John de Courcy plundered Down in 1177, Louth in 1178; ravaged Leinster and Munster in 1195, Ulster in 1197, part of Connaught in 1199; built two strong castles for himself at Down and Colcraigne. Richard de Burgh, the 'Great Lord of Connaught,' son of William Fitzadelm, followed the more ingenious calling of king-maker; began business with Hugh O'Connor, the King of Connaught, in 1227; deposed him, and set up Felim as king in 1230; imprisoned Felim in 1231; set up Hugh again in 1232; ravaged Connaught on his own account in 1235; built the two castles of Galway and Loughrea.

This second of the Irish de Burghs kept up a connection with England, holding the title of Lord-Lieutenant in 1227, and dying on his way to join the English king at Bordeaux in 1243.² But, like the other Norman barons in Ireland, he began to fall into the rough ways of the tribes whom he had subdued. He married a grand-daughter of Red-Hand, the old King of Connaught, and the family name got gradually naturalized into the Irish forms, which it has since retained.³ Hallam thus describes the degeneracy of the English conquerors, and as usual the de Burghs stand prominently forward in what was the main

¹ *The Annals of Ireland, translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters*, by Owen Connellan, Esq.; quarto, 1846, pp. 11, 12, 25, 26, 28, 47, 49, 53, and 56. In quotations from *The Four Masters*, the quarto edition of 1846 is invariably referred to.

² Sir Bernard Burke, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 62, say he died abroad with the army.

³ The Earls of Clanricarde used the Irish form Burke until 1752, when the eleventh earl resumed the Norman surname de Burgh by sign manual. The Earls of Mayo still adhere to the Irish form, Bourke.

feature of the time:—‘They intermarried with the Irish; they connected themselves with them by the national custom of fostering, which formed an artificial relationship of the strictest nature; they spoke the Irish language; they affected the Irish dress and manner of wearing the hair; they even adopted in some instances Irish surnames; they harassed their tenants with every Irish exaction and tyranny; they administered Irish law, if any at all; they became chieftains rather than peers, and neither regarded the king’s summons to his parliaments, nor paid any obedience to his judges. Thus the great family of de Burgh, or Burke, in Connaught, fell off almost entirely from subjection.’¹

The conquerors had indeed adopted the conquered country as their own, and each successive wave of English invaders found the Burkes as intensely Irish as the old Celtic families themselves. I have troubled the reader with the foregoing details, and shall presently venture further on his patience in this matter—not from an idle love of genealogy, but because the past history of the family did much to mould the character of the Bourke who forms the subject of this book. His was a nature into which an ancient descent infused no tincture of any ignoble pride of birth. But it lit within him an unquenchable love of the people among whom his ancestors had so long borne a part—a love which, after blazing up once or twice in his youth, shone calmly through his whole

¹ *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii. p. 350, ed. 1854. *The Four Masters* confirm these particulars.

life, and went with him to the grave. 'I come of a family,' he once said in the House of Commons, 'that cast in their lot with the Irish people.' To that people he devoted his whole English career. The only Parliamentary office he accepted was the Chief-Secretaryship for Ireland, which he held thrice; and he spoke so seldom on any but Irish questions as to be little known to the English public. Amid the more splendid cares of India, his letters break out into longings for his Irish home. It was an Irish cross that he placed on the plain of Chilianwála over the unnamed dead. In his Will, he begged that, if it could be done without trouble, his body might be conveyed to Ireland, and laid in a humble little churchyard in the centre of his estates, with only an Irish cross to mark the spot.

In the feuds and rebellions of that unhappy island, from the 13th to the 17th century, the Burkes bear a boisterous part. Their names occupy many pages of the great historian who has laid bare the annals of Irish misrule.¹ Besides the customary forms of death in battle, combat, and by the headsman, at least two were hanged;² one was murdered by his brother;³

¹ Froude's *History of England* (ed. 1870), *passim*; vol. iii. p. 495; vol. iv. p. 104; vol. x. pp. 504, 560; vol. xi. pp. 188, 196-198, 213, 241, 261, etc. Almost every page of the *Annals of the Four Masters* records the doings or misdeeds of some or other of the branches of the Burkes.

² William Burke, son of the Earl of Clanrickard, and grandson of Ulick of the Heads, hanged at Galway, 1581 (*The Four Masters*, p. 517). Colonel William Burke, son of Baron Brittas, 'suffered martyrdom on the gallows' at Limerick, 1653 (Carrowkeel MS.).

³ John (the Shan of Froude), murdered by another Ulick, after their joint plunder of their kinsmen the MacWilliam Burkes, 1583. *An-*

one was pressed to death.¹ This last mishap took place under the policy which eventually proposed that 'all Brehones, carraghs, bards, rhymers, friars, monks, Jesuits, pardoners, nuns, and such like should be executed by martial law,'² with a view to universal peace in Ireland, ever afterwards. The Burkes lay out among the Connemara hills; and their cousin Oliver,³ when brought into Limerick, preferred the long drawn-out agony of the *peine forte et dure*, to pleading before the foreigner or betraying his kinsmen.

But before this, one branch had emerged from the general confusion. In 1324 died Sir William Burke, leaving, among other issue, a son Ulick, from whom descend the Earls of Clanricarde; and another son, Sir Edmund, from whom sprang the extinct Viscount Bourke⁴ of Mayo, and, after an interval, the present Earls of Mayo.⁴ The fortunes of the Ulick branch

nals of the Four Masters, p. 538; 'unkindredly slain in a nocturnal attack.'

¹ Oliver, in 1579 (?). According to Froude, vol. xi. p. 242, in 1581.

² *Discourse for the Reformation of Ireland*; Carew Papers, quoted by Froude.

³ Froude, vol. xi. p. 242; although from the Irish records it seems difficult to make out the relationship.

⁴ This is according to Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-Arms. Mr. Walter Boufke, barrister-at-law, makes the division of the families take place much higher up. According to a careful genealogical tree which he has kindly drawn up for me from the Irish records, William Fitzadelm de Burgh (died 1204) left a son (*a*), Richard, by his first wife, and a son (*b*), William, by his second wife. The elder son, whose deeds I summarize *ante*, p. 4, had also two sons (*c*), Walter, and (*d*) William. From (*c*) Walter (died 1271) descended the Earls of Ulster, with the Limerick Clan-Williams and the Barons of Castle Connell as junior branches. From (*d*) William (died 1270) came, among other families, the Tyrauly Bourkes, the extinct Viscounts Mayo, and the

advanced more rapidly. The wars of Henry VIII. disclose them prominently on the Irish side. One of them was appointed Bishop of Clontarf by the Pope, in opposition to Dr. Nangle, nominated by the English Government, and managed to hold the see in defiance of the Statute of Provisors. Another Ulick is notorious in the State Papers as 'of the Geraldine band,'¹ which 'was to rise in the pale and sweep the English into the sea.' At length Henry VIII., sick of the 'chaos of quarrel, calumny, and contradiction,' resolved to conciliate the rebels whom he had failed to conquer, and Ulick Burke, with the two great O'Briens, were selected for the royal favour. These three heads of revolt were soothed into allegiance by the spoils of the Irish abbeys, a splendid reception at Greenwich, and three peerages; Ulick Burke becoming Earl of Clanricarde,² 1543.

The device failed. After a lull, in which the second Earl held the Lord-Lieutenantship, the reign of Elizabeth found the Burkes as turbulent as ever on

present Earls of Mayo. All these were from (a) Richard, the elder son of William Fitzadelm. From (b) William (died 1248), the younger son of William Fitzadelm, descend the Earls of Clanricarde. I am not competent to pronounce in the matter, but I observe that a footnote at p. 132 of *The Four Masters* supports Sir Bernard Burke's view. I would not the less heartily acknowledge the great trouble which Mr. Walter Bourke has taken in the matter, and his constant kindness in helping me on points connected with Irish genealogy, a subject on which I had no previous knowledge.

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 56; quoted by Froude, vol. iv. p. 90, footnote.

² Baron of Dunkellin and Earl of Clanricarde, 1st July 1543—Sir Bernard Burke. It is curious to notice how silent *The Four Masters* are about an event which, according to Irish ideas of patriotism, may have been thought a defection to the king's side.

the Irish side. In 1569, indeed, we find the Clancarde making 'an affected submission.' But four years later the stormy meeting at Connaught took place, at which his son Shan 'drew his skene, and wished it were driven into his belly if ever he submitted to the [Queen's] deputy, except on his own conditions; and swore he would make prey to the gates of Dublin.'¹ What follows belongs to history, but one realistic picture of the sixteenth century Burkes may be fitly reproduced.

'At Christmas,' writes Sir Nicholas Malby to Walsingham, 'I marched into their country, and finding courteous dealing with them had like to have cut my throat, I thought good to take another course; and so, with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young, I entered their mountains. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found; where were slain at that time above sixty of their best men, and among them the best leaders they had. This was Shan Burke's country. Then I burnt Ulick Burke's country in like manner. I assaulted a castle where the garrison surrendered. I put them to the *misericordia* of my soldiers. They were all slain. Thence I went on, sparing none which came in my way; which cruelty did so amaze their followers, that they could not tell where to bestow themselves. Shan Burke made means to me to pardon him and forbear killing of his people. I would not hearken,

¹ MSS., Ireland; quoted by Froude, vol. x. p. 560. See also vol. xi. chap. xxvii., especially p. 196.

but held on my way. The gentlemen of Clanrickard came to me. I found it was but dallying to win time, so I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses standing as I had left his brother, and what people was found had as little favour as the others had. It was all done in rain, and frost, and storm, journeys in such weather bringing them the sooner to submission. They are humble enough now, and will yield to any terms we like to offer them.' Here is how such a raid appeared to the Irish themselves :—' The plundering, and continued cry and wailing of the defenceless, warned the people of their progress in every place through which they passed,' until at last the invaders themselves found ' not a place of repose, on account of the crying and wailing of children and widows.'¹

But the most striking figure among the Elizabethan Burkes is Graine-ni-Mhaile, pronounced by the English Granny O'Malley, wife of Iron Dick Burke, and mother of the first Viscount of Mayo.² She forms a favourite buccaneering heroine of Irish legend. In her earlier years, her piracies won for her the distinction of being proclaimed, and having £500 set on her head. One story tells how, on her return from a visit to Queen Elizabeth, her ship was driven by stress of weather into Howth harbour. She forthwith demanded hospitality at Howth Castle,

¹ *The Four Masters*, p. 489. This was a domestic raid of the same period.

² I take this last statement from a footnote to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 547.

• but finding the gates shut, she carried off the infant son of Lord Howth, and restored him only on condition that the gates of the castle should always stand open, and a cover be laid for a stranger at the mid-day meal. Another legend relates that, during her stay at Court, Queen Elizabeth offered to create her a countess. • This she declined, on the ground 'that, both of them being princesses, they were equal in rank, and neither could confer honour on the other.' But she was good enough to add, that Her Majesty might exercise her pleasure in the way of titles on an infant son whom she had just borne on the passage.¹ In Froude she makes a more authentic appearance at Sidney's Court as 'a famous virago of Connaught,' who 'came round from Achill, with her three pirate galleys and two hundred men, to Cork harbour.' Sir William Drury describes her to the Council as 'a woman that hath impudently passed the parts of womanhood, and been a great spoiler and chief commander and director of thieves and murderers at sea.'² Sir Henry Sidney furnishes the last touch to the portrait, by the remark that 'she had brought her husband with her.' But a lady with a portable husband, three galleys, and two hundred buccaneers, was a person to be cultivated in those days. She became a friend of the brilliant Sir Philip Sidney, whose widow the Clanricarde Burke afterwards married.³

¹ Note to *The Four Masters*, p. 547.

² Quoted by Froude, vol. xi. p. 188, footnote.

³ Richard, fourth earl, died 1635; Sir Bernard Burke.

Under James I. and Charles I. the Clanricardes prospered. They were advanced to an English earldom and Irish marquessate, both of which honours, however, soon expired.¹ Just before the massacre of 1641, a Clanricarde Burke becomes visible for a moment as ambassador to Charles I. on behalf of the Irish nobility. He bore back the fatal message from the king to Ormond to keep the disbanded soldiers together, seize Dublin Castle, and restore their arms to the licentious troops.² The Burkes headed an Irish confederacy, fought bravely in the royal cause, suffered exile, and under James II. are again found on the same side. The ninth earl, being taken at the head of his regiment at the battle of Aughrim, was attainted and outlawed, but restored by an Act of Parliament under Queen Anne. The Marquessate was revived in 1785, and after another lapse, again in 1825.

The present Mayo branch of the Bourkes also stood forward on the side of Charles I. One of them, John Bourke of Monycrower, in Kilmaine, having fought gallantly under Ormond, married well, and settled at Kill, in Kildare. Up to this time the Bourkes had been staunch Catholics, but after the troubles of 1689, the family of Kill and Monycrower submitted to the State creed as then laid down by

¹ Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde, created an English peer, 1624, by the titles of Baron Somerhill and Viscount Tunbridge; advanced to the Earldom of St. Albans, 1628. Ulick, fifth Earl, created Marquess of Clanricarde in Ireland 1644, died without male issue, and the Marquessate and English honours expired.

² Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

law. They seem to have been the only branch of the Bourkes in that part of Ireland who thus qualified themselves by religious conformity to hold land. Such estates as remained to their kinsfolk in Mayo, after the confiscations of Cromwell and King William, had been privately transferred to influential persons who professed the Protestant faith. Edmund Burke, the greatest man who in modern times has borne the name, has left a page of fiery protest against the despoilers whom the Revolution let loose on his countrymen.¹ In many cases, however, the old proprietors continued to occupy their lands, enjoying the usufruct, and, when the penal laws lost their edge, receiving them back on renewable leases at low rates. Under Queen Anne, 'the Acts for the repression of Popery had been framed to throw into Protestant hands the entire land of Ireland. The opportunities for evasion had been at length so carefully closed, that for a family to preserve their estates who continued to avow themselves Catholic had been made really difficult.'² But 'many Catholic families retained their properties without sacrificing their creed, by conveying them to a Protestant kinsman or neighbour. The terms of the Statute were so stringent, that they were obliged to trust entirely to their honour and good faith; yet in no known instance was their confidence abused.'³ In this way the conforming

¹ Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, M.P., dated 3d January 1792. *Works*, vol. iii. p. 319, ed. 1835.

² Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 367.

³ *Idem*, p. 372.

Bourkes of Kill and Monycrower had become a very rising branch of the name early in the seven-teenth century. During the hundred years after the Revolution, they accepted the position of peaceable country gentlemen, looked after their property, and made good marriages.

About the middle of the eighteenth century they again emerge into public life. In 1725 a later John Bourke of Kill and Monycrower married the co-heiress of the Right Honourable Joseph Deane, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland. He was an ambitious, hard-working politician, and after good service as member for Naas, was appointed to the Irish Privy Council, created Baron Naas in 1776, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower in 1781, and finally Earl of Mayo in 1785. The third earl held the Archbishopric of Tuam—a place which has been connected with the Bourkes in very different ways, and at long intervals of time. ‘The first pile of lime and stone that was ever erected in Ireland,’ says Cox,¹ ‘was the Castle of Tuam, built in 1161 by Roderic O’Connor, the Monarch,’ whose submission William Fitzadelm de Burgh² was sent over a few years later by Henry II. to receive. In the middle of the fifteenth century, John Burke, the nephew alike of the Ulick whence sprang the Earls of Clanricarde, and of the Sir Edmond from whom (according to Ulster King-at-Arms) descend the Earls of Mayo, was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.³ And

¹ Introduction to Cox’s *History of Ireland*, quoted by Hallam, *Const Hist.* vol. iii. p. 342, footnote; ed. 1854. ² Died 1204. ³ Died 1450.

at the end of the eighteenth century, Joseph Bourke, third Earl of Mayo, held the same see as Protestant Archbishop.¹ During the next two generations his influence gave a clerical turn to the younger branches of the family², among whom the Bishop of Waterford and the Dean of Ossory left well-remembered names. The fourth earl has a surer hold upon the public memory in Praed's verse. The fifth earl was the father of Lord Mayo, the subject of this book.

HAYES, the scene of Lord Mayo's early years, is an unpretending country house in Meath, about twenty-two miles from Dublin and nine miles inland from Drogheda. Here, in the earlier part of the century, lived the second son of the fourth Earl of Mayo, the Honourable Richard Bourke, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, with his wife Mary, daughter of Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin. In 1820 their eldest son Robert, afterwards fifth earl, wedded Anne Charlotte Jocelyn, a grand-daughter of the Earl of Roden; and the Bishop, retiring to his see residence at Waterford, gave up his family house of Hayes to the newly-married pair. At Hayes they lived for over forty years, bringing up a family of eight children in a quiet religious fashion, and upon such means as fall to the lot of a son of a younger son.² In 1849 Mr. Robert

¹ Died 1794.

² Of ten children born to them, one daughter died in infancy, and one son in boyhood.

Bourke succeeded to the earldom, and afterwards took his seat in Parliament as a representative peer. But long before then his elder children were out in life. It was the Hayes influences that moulded their characters and shaped their careers, and it was Hayes that they always thought of as their home.

The house looks down from the northern slope of Dean Hill, across the valley of the Boyne. On the right rises the eminence of Slane, with its ancient abbey peeping forth from the trees at the top; the Boyne winds unseen through the woods of Beau Parc in front; the round tower of Dunmœ stands out on the left; and from the summit of Dean Hill a great landscape of twelve counties stretches around, with the sea on the east, the plains of Longford and West Meath to the west, and the mountains of Down and of Wicklow lying far off on the northern and southern horizons. The green hill upon which once stood Tara's Halls rises towards Dublin; the ruins of Trim dot the grass-fields of Meath on the west. On Tara Hill the Shan O'Neill of the 16th century had aspired to assume the crown of his ancestors,¹ and to it the Meath insurgents of 1798 flocked, as to the mythical home of the glories of their race.²

In 1820, when the parents of Lord Mayo settled at Hayes, the dwelling had the bare look of a middling Irish country house, built 130 years ago, with old and battered beeches standing about it. Under these great trees Mr. Bourke planted laurels and silver firs, and

¹ Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 52.

² *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 366.

by degrees laid out woods, so that the place grew sheltered and snug. Sons and daughters came quickly, till the tale of ten was complete; and as the Hayes income did not permit of a public-school education, they were brought up by tutors and governesses under the father's eye. Few events took place in the quiet household to mark the march of time, save the father's periodical absence at assizes or on county business. This monotone of boyhood, unbroken by the usual external influences, gave a singular force to the family tie among the young group at Hayes. Lord Mayo, as the eldest, cherished with a touching retentiveness every detail of that simple home life,—the shaven lawn behind the house; the white stone staircase; the 'pleasure-ground,' with the hammock swing between two ancient trees; the beech walk leading from it to the walled garden, with the figs which would so seldom ripen; above all, the great laurel, with its spacious circumference and dark recesses, the 'summer-seat' beneath, and each thick branch the allotted property and valiantly defended perch of one of the boys—the citadel of their outdoor world. The mother's sitting-room, opening upon a small conservatory, became in after years a subject of tender memory; and the dwarf yew tree, on whose flat top the children, in their quieter moments, used to sit within reach of her voice. The father's 'study,' as it was called, a sunny room in which they assembled on Sundays to repeat the hastily-learned Collect, had also its reminiscences of a loving sort.

Richard (afterwards Lord Mayo) led the way in all

the pastimes and mischief of Hayes. He rejoiced in a long succession of dogs and ponies. With the help of a great ally, Sharpe, the carpenter, he built a rabbit-hutch upon poles, to be out of reach of the terriers. The carpenter's shop where Sharpe reigned was his favourite haunt. But it had a rival in a long cow-shed, whither father and mother and children were wont to stroll on summer evenings, to see the kine milked and the calves fed, and where each child possessed a pig or a sheep which he proudly called his own. Indoors, he held sacred to himself a small Blue-beard closet, lit by a skylight, which (with the faithful Sharpe's help) he fitted up with shelves as a museum. On these he arranged such shells and fossils as he could collect. Here, too, he worked on his turning-lathe, admitting the juniors at judicious intervals to admire his erudite properties and the other labours of his hands.

The father, having resolved to educate his children at home, set about the task with much steadfastness of purpose. In his youth he had passed a couple of years at Oxford, but his early up-bringing had been a domestic and strictly evangelical one, characteristic of an Irish see house sixty years ago. His marriage confirmed this cast of thought by closely associating him with the evangelical leaders of that time. The Earl of Roden, his wife's near kinsman, was the Irish Lord Shaftesbury of his day,—a familiar figure on the platform of religious societies, and zealous for philanthropic schemes of many sorts. With him Mr. Bourke frequented the April Meetings in Dublin,—gatherings

• similar to the London May Meetings. Hayes became a well-known resort of the evangelical clergy; Bible meetings, attended by the more zealous of the local gentry, were held there, Mr. Bourke himself delivering Sunday evening lectures to his tenantry and neighbours. The house thus came to figure somewhat prominently in the religious biography of that time, and one clergyman has left behind a picture of his warm welcome on reaching Hayes belated — his postilions having lost their way, and entangled the carriage in a wood. The family had given him up for the night, and the children were gone to bed; but the stir of the arrival roused the nursery, which turned out a little battalion, ‘wrapped in shawls and cloaks,’ to greet the strangers. Nor does the narrative fail to notice ‘the asylum established within the grounds for persecuted Protestants.’¹

This sobriety of tone was brightened by the intense delight which the father took in the outdoor life of his children. Walking expeditions, long rides, cricket, swimming matches on the Boyne, and every form of robust companionship which endears Englishmen to each other—in all these the father and sons bore an equal part. • The talent at Hayes came from the mother. But to the father they owed the ideal and standards in life which result from growing up as the dearest friends of a single-minded and tenderly considerate man. •

• ‘My father,’ writes one of his sons, ‘brought us all

• ¹ *Life of Rev. Wm. Marsh, D.D.* (a son of Sir Charles Marsh, who served under Lord Clive, and distinguished himself at Pondicherry), p. 117.

up with the idea that we should have to make our own way in the world. But at the same time, every one of us felt that what little he could do for us he would do to the last penny. His generosity used to break out unconsciously in a hundred details. During the Indian Mutiny, I gave a little lecture to the tenants and neighbours on what the army was then doing in the East. Unmeritorious as the performance undoubtedly was, I remember my father coming into my room early next morning, and saying, with tears in his eyes, that he felt proud of it, and that he was not a rich man, but begged me to accept a twenty-pound note.' The papers before me contain much more in the same sense.

'My father,' writes one of the family, 'played cricket constantly with my brothers; and on summer evenings, the labourers, with the policemen from the station at the gate, joined the game. Sometimes they had matches, "Hayes against Beau Parc" (Mr. Lambert's place, close by). But my father's great delight was a bathing expedition with the boys to the Boyne, where he taught them to swim. They had a memorable race at Beau Parc,—my father and four eldest brothers against Lord Bective and his brother, each dressed in a distinguishing colour. The seven ran down a steep bank at full speed, dived into the Boyne, and swam across. The ladies and all the spectators stood on the opposite bank to receive them. Richard won, and was crowned with a wreath of laurels by a lady. Later, Richard used to shoot wild duck on the river in the winter mornings, and labour after snipe through a

neighbouring bog. The boys learned to ride while mere children, my father teaching their ponies to jump, and making them as much at home in the saddle as on their feet. They were not allowed to hunt, but would break away from their tutor when the cry of the fox-hounds reached them. We used to rise early and have a morning walk. When we came in, our mother read the Bible with us for half an hour, explaining it verse by verse. Then we went to the tutor and governess till 2 o'clock, after which the boys rode, and came back to lessons at 4.30 in winter.

The summer evenings were all spent out of doors. In the winter ones, my father taught us chess, backgammon, and other games. On wet days he would play puss-in-the-corner and hunt-the-slipper with us in the dining-room, ending with a wild game of hide-and-seek. He kept up this love of playing with his young people to old age, and, when nearly seventy, joined in the games of his grandsons, as he had in those of his children forty years before. Saturday night was the great excitement of the week. The governess and tutor sent in our judgment-books, as they were called, to our mother. In these they had entered, each day, the sentence upon our conduct, and how every lesson had been done. The good marks were worth a penny a dozen, and when set off against the bad ones, sometimes produced a revenue of as much as fourpence a week to us, although the average was nearer twopence. Birthdays, including our father's and mother's, were holidays, and presents were religiously given; the health of the hero of the day was

drunk, and a speech exacted from him in return. Hay-making was a time of great delight. We had each our own wooden fork to turn the hay. The boys played king-of-the-cock among the ricks, and sat on the top of the high carts as they jolted to the steading. The harvest-home took place in a huge barn, with a dance for the reapers, and a mysterious figure dressed up in straw, who appeared on these occasions, together with a boy on a donkey disguised in like manner. This exhibition, although yearly repeated, never lost its charms. On Twelfth Night we always had snap-dragon, and a magic lantern in the servants' room. On All-Hallow-Eve, too, my mother assembled her school children in the servants' hall, where they bobbed for apples and sixpences, finishing up with a supper. But Christmas was the day of the year. The dining-room table was covered with presents, each labelled from so-and-so to so-and-so; not forgetting the servants, gardeners, etc., all of whom had some little gift. For weeks before we were in a state of excitement and mysterious manufacture, Richard taking special care that his old nurse should never be forgotten. She had come to Hayes when he was born, brought up six of us, and finally built a cottage just outside the place with her savings. Richard and she remained great friends to the last; and I well remember her wonderful potato-cakes, hot off the girdle.

On Sundays, our father made a point of walking to the little parish church with the boys. The old clergyman, with his powdered head, a great friend of my

father's, was one of our earliest recollections. His six daughters sang in parts, and took a great deal of trouble in teaching the people to chant. Mr. Brabazon, the clergyman, was himself a good musician, and trained a village band of about ten instruments, Richard's friend Sharpe, the carpenter, leading on the clarionet. On summer evenings the performers would come up to Hayes, and play on the lawn.'

There was one beloved name to which I have scarcely alluded. And I hardly know how to begin. For the tender admiration with which her children, now far on in life, remember their mother, belongs to a more sacred ground than these pages care to venture on. Her figure stands out from among the robust open-air group at Hayes, as something of a paler and more spiritual type than the warm colouring of the life around her. Into that life she managed to infuse a consciousness that, somehow, there was a higher and more beautiful existence than the vigorous animalism of boyhood dreamed of. As we shall presently see, the schooling at Hayes does not appear to have been of the highest sort. But the children grew up with a perception of regions of thought and effort equally apart from the evangelical and the physical sides of the Hayes experiences; regions dimly descried, indeed, but not the less impressive. On her eldest son her influence was deep and lasting. To her he owed the many-sided sympathies and interests which the other aspects of the Hayes life certainly did not tend to develope. From her, too, he derived that power of appreciating widely different

forms of culture which did so much to place him in accord with the manifold types of India. Mrs. Bourke¹ was an only child, and had received a careful education. Her letters convey the idea of a singularly refined and well-balanced nature, and flow in that unconscious perfection of English, of which women of culture have the secret. She had an unusual acquaintance with the modern languages, and was a good musician. 'But what strikes me most in looking back,' writes one of her sons, 'was her earnest love for her children; an inexhaustible fund of common sense; a contempt for everything mean or wrong; and a firm belief that her daily prayers for us would be answered, and that we would be a blessing and comfort to her through life.

'She it was who really enabled my father to pull through the many difficulties of his married life; between 1820 and 1849. She was never idle,—always writing, doing accounts, or working; had little time for reading, but constantly did her best to get us to take an interest in books. Her mission, she used to say, was *work*. She devoted much of her time to the cottages of the sick, to clothing clubs, and the hundred little charities which crowd round the wife of an Irish squire who tries to do his duty. I never knew any one who *worked harder*. Two days a week she gave up to standing at the door of her medicine-room, dispensing drugs, and, when necessary, warm clothes

¹ Anne Charlotte, only child of the Honourable John Jocelyn of Fair Hill, son of the Earl of Roden. She married Mr. Robert Bourke, afterwards fifth Earl of Mayo, 3d August 1820; died 26th January 1867.

to the poor. And day after day, in bad seasons week after week, the dinner bell rang before she got a drive or a walk. Often have I thought that poor Mayo inherited from her that conscientiousness in the discharge of minute duties which to me seemed one of the characteristics of his official life, both in England and in India. Long after we were out in the world, we used to resort to her when in doubt or difficulty. Not so much for advice, which she was chary of giving; but for an interchange of opinion upon a step to be taken or avoided, which might make our course more clear, or our resolution more strong.'

Meanwhile the Hayes boys were picking up the sort of education which private tuition gives to high-spirited lads fonder of the open air than of their books. One can scarcely help a suspicion that the Hayes tutors were themselves chosen as much with an eye to their religious orthodoxy as to their profane learning. Richard did not specially shine at his lessons. The impression which he gave to his tutor was that of an 'open, generous boy, easily managed by kindness; clever, too, but of moderate application.' In Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, his acquirements seem to have been distinctly 'moderate.' But he early disclosed a passion for History, and, while a mere child, would take himself off into quiet nooks, and pore over volumes curiously beyond his years. 'What he thus read,' says one of his tutors, 'he made his own, identifying himself with the personages and events of the past, and sitting quite unconscious of what might be going on round him.' One of the many divines who

visited at Hayes, a Fellow and Tutor of Dublin, while by no means startled by the boy's attainments in Greek and Latin, has left behind an expression of surprise at the racy strength of his English translations.

But Natural Science was the pursuit which combined the outdoor and indoor elements precisely in the way to captivate such a boy's mind. His self-made museum of fossils dated from a very early age; and the marvels of astronomy so laid hold on his imagination, that he could not bear that any one else should remain unacquainted with them. At the mature age of thirteen, he begged his tutor to allow him to lecture on the subject. He noted down its main branches, with the distances and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies; and having assembled the servants and farm people in the hall, delivered a discourse, 'partly from memory, partly from the written card in his hand.' In short, like other boys under a private tutor, who has a whole family to look after, Richard Bourke developed his natural talent for the subjects he liked, and got through the rest of his lessons with decent mediocrity. One advantage of this system, and it has many disadvantages, is, that the pursuits to which a lad spontaneously turns do not strike him as 'studies,' to be thrown aside when he leaves school. They work into his mind as favourite tastes, which he carries through life. Even when a young man at Trinity College, Dublin, Lord Mayo's education continued to all intents a home one. He did not live in college but kept his name on the books, and, except at examination time, resided at Hayes or with relatives and read

with a tutor, really labouring only at the pursuits he loved best.

This unchecked development took a turn which must be lightly touched on here, but which was so essentially an outcome of his home influences that I ought not to pass it by in silence. The Hayes tone was a very clerical one. Mr. Bourke, himself the son of a bishop, the grandson on both sides of archbishops, and with many of his nearest friends in the Church, set an example of unpretending but quite openly expressed piety. He lived his whole nature before his children; and Richard insensibly moulded his character on his father's in its more retired aspects, no less than in his love of the robust outdoor life. There remains a little collection of sermons, written by him before the age of twelve, and instinct with the pathos of an imaginative child under strong religious impressions. These discourses, chiefly upon texts dear to the evangelical mind, dwell with a touching earnestness on such subjects as the doctrine of grace, the worthlessness of this world, and the glories and terrors of the next. The taste for History soon began to mingle with his meditations, and his twelfth year produced a little book, in the straggling boyish hand, entitled, 'A Preface to the Holy Bible, by R. S. B. of H——;' with the motto, '*Multæ terricolis linguæ, cælestibus una.*' In this fasciculus he gives a historical introduction to each of the books of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms, with notices of their authors and contents. For several years the future world filled his imagination, and one of his birthday speeches

(written down when he was twelve by his mother) suddenly breaks away from the joyous strain of the feast into reflections on the uncertainty of life. His boyish letters breathe the quaint Protestantism of the people among whom he lived. At fifteen he writes to his father: 'There is a poor man here on the verge of the grave just come out of Popery. Lord Roden' (the relative with whom he was then staying) 'has received letters from M. Cæsar Malan of Geneva, giving an alarming account of the increase of Papacy on the Continent.' These sentences contrast curiously with the tolerant sobriety of Lord Mayo's maturer mind. He counted several dear friends in the Roman Communion, and no man more cordially recognised the many noble aspects of that Church. 'On one occasion,' writes his tutor, 'he had for some days been busily employed all by himself in making a little secluded arbour in a clump of trees—a very retired spot, concealed from view, and not easily found. When I asked him what it was for, he answered, "It will be a quiet place for me to pray in, and I mean it for that."'

I shall not again allude to this side of Lord Mayo's character. As he went on in life, his views grew wider, and lost the self-centred development which the moral atmosphere at Hayes tended to foster. But whether they were less deep may be inferred from the following letter, the only one which I shall quote on this subject. It was written on his thirty-seventh birthday, when Chief Secretary for Ireland the second time, amid the distracting cares of Phoenix agitations, and the coming defeat of his party in Parliament:—

‘MY DEAREST MOTHER,—I am very thankful for your motherly letter and all the good advice it contains. I have had many blessings in my time, and I am most thankful for them in my heart, though I may not make any great demonstration of my thoughts. We are all getting on in years, and are, I hope, setting our faces homewards.* My life is at the very most more than half over, even supposing that I should live to be old. And how many chances there are against that! This time thirty-seven years ago I was a small thing. How much smaller in one sense shall I be thirty-seven years hence! How much greater, we may hope, in another!’

One more feature of his childhood remains. He seems to have had a talent for finding out relatives in need of a letter from Hayes. All the incidents of that wholesome life, its pet animals, games, excursions, and visits to other houses, stand freshly out in a descending scale of penmanship, beginning with an epistle in large print to his grandmother at the age of seven. ‘Dicky’s mistakes,’ added his mother in a postscript to his first letter, ‘must be forgiven, as he wrote it himself.’ In due time his effusions took a metrical form, and a series of poems begin in his 11th and end in his 24th year; after which he betook himself for life to prose. It seemed to be a recognised function of the mother and sister at Hayes to afford subjects for Richard’s verse. The one young lady of the family is duly saluted each year with a birthday poem,—the earlier ones breathing the boyish protection of a big brother for a little girl; the latter ones warming into a young man’s admiration for a sister blooming

into womanhood. They are good of their kind, with nothing about the Muses in them, but a great deal of natural affection, and some gracefully turned thoughts.

Glimpses of the outer world now began to reach the boy. At fifteen we find him on a visit to his relative Lord Roden; 'which may be said,' writes his brother, 'to be the first time he ever left home.' He is described as a remarkably tall, handsome boy, and, indeed, at that age he seems to have outgrown his strength. A threatening of consumption, with a strong hacking cough, placed him in the doctor's hands. But fortunately, at this crisis, a friend happened to lend him a little yacht; and two months of cruising in her cramped quarters on the east coast of Ireland blew away all traces of the complaint, and left him a firm constitution for life. The love of the sea never deserted him. In after years it broke out from time to time, and great was his delight when his second son adopted the naval profession. On the brilliant viceregal voyage, destined to so appalling a catastrophe, he charmed the officers of the *Glasgow* frigate by his interest in their work.

In 1838 the Hayes family went abroad for a couple of years. The mother had become anxious lest the home-breeding of her sons should place them at a disadvantage on their entry into life. She accordingly urged on Mr. Bourke the necessity of now obtaining for them better masters than could be hoped for in a secluded country house. So the autumn of 1838 found the whole family, from grandmother Jocelyn down to Edward Roden aged three, settled in the Champs Elysées. The tutor and governess lived as

usual in the house ; but, for the first time in their lives, the boys bent their necks to the discipline of exact teaching, beginning with the French professor at 8 A.M. and ending with the dancing-master at 7 in the evening. For these long hours in the schoolroom they took a sufficient revenge out of doors. One can picture the torrent of thick-booted Irish boys, each accustomed to do battle for his own branch in the great laurel at home, ravaging among the miniature embellishments of a Champs Elysées garden. They set up a swing, wore the grass into holes, swarmed up the delicately-nurtured cedar, and trampled the flower-beds. At the end of six months, when the family left, Mr. Bourke had to pay the outraged proprietor a bill of five hundred francs, for '*degradation du jardin.*'

But the old domestic strictness, touching the vanities of the outer world, continued to be enforced. The father suffered much terror regarding the dangers of evil company for his boys. Nevertheless, Richard and one of his brothers contrived to taste the forbidden fruit of a *bal-masqué*.

In the summer of 1839 the family rolled eastwards to Switzerland, and had four months of climbing. Richard, like other spirited English lads, insisted on doing without a guide on the Stock Horn, and nearly succeeded in coming to harm. He and his brothers and tutor got to the top safely enough. But night came on, and the usual experience followed of clambering down precipices and waterfalls in the dark, with a growing uncertainty as to how or where they would get to the bottom. A dispute broke out re-

garding the road—the tutor at length declaring that he would go one way, while Richard as firmly determined to go another. ‘So, of course,’ writes one of his brothers quite simply, ‘we all sided with Richard, and followed him.’ The boys got back to their inn at midnight, with torn clothes and grazed shins; but the tutor ‘did not appear till next morning, and then covered with bruises and starving with hunger—too done up for lessons that day.’

With a house at Geneva as their headquarters, they walked through Southern Switzerland, and made parties to Chamouni and the other places whither English people resort. A family tour to the Bernese Oberland, the father and sons on foot, the mother and sister on ponies, brought the summer to a close.

A winter at Florence opened up a new world. The French and Italian masters went on as before, and Richard took lessons in singing and on the violoncello, for both of which he had early disclosed an aptitude. But another sort of education also began. At first half holidays, then whole days, were spent in the galleries; the mother now as ever leading him on in all noble culture. ‘Richard,’ writes his brother, ‘intensely enjoyed the artistic atmosphere of the place.’ He learned to recognise the different schools and artists by patiently looking at their works.

• At Florence, too, Richard first entered the world. The father, with many misgivings, realized that the quickenings of young manhood had begun to stir within his son’s breast. No doubt the boys had managed their affair of the *bal masqué* at Paris very

cleverly. But a quiet, sensible father has somehow a knack of knowing what goes on in his own house, although he may not think it needful to strain his authority by always saying so. At any rate, Mr. Bourke now silently acknowledged that the time had come when, whatever his own views as to the vanities of this world, he must allow his son to openly enjoy the amusements natural to his age, or convert those amusements into dishonouring sins by adding the clandestine element to them. The question is a pathetic one in every household brought up on the Hayes model. It formed a subject of prayerful consideration between the father and mother. In the end, the father took a course not very heroic in itself, but the one which sensible fathers of similar religious views generally adopt,—the policy of disapproving reticence. He did not forbid his son from going to balls or public amusements; yet he tempered a young man's healthy eagerness in the pursuit of pleasure by silently making it felt that he thought his evenings might be better employed. The mother took care that the best houses in Florence should be open to her son—perhaps a more practical step for keeping a boy from harm. So to balls Richard Bourke and his next brother, John, went, and to all the haunts of men and women in that friendly society of winter refugees. Moreover, having now entered his nineteenth year, it became necessary for Mr. Richard to fall in love. This he did with characteristic vigour, ending in a heart-broken parting, which was, however, happily mitigated by a more than usually copious flow

of verse, among which certain lines on Juliet's tomb almost deserve to live.

'This was the time,' writes one of his brothers, 'when he first emancipated himself from the narrow circle of ideas to which an exclusively home education must ever confine a boy. And I think he did so thoroughly. Rome, Naples, Verona, Florence, Venice—what an education these towns in themselves suggest! He keenly enjoyed them all, and took an enthusiastic interest in the picture galleries and mediæval history of each. These two years of travel taught him much of men and manners, opened his eyes, and formed his tastes. But they were not conducive to study, nor to what is looked upon by university men as a sound education. I doubt very much whether he read more Latin or Greek than a few books of Virgil and Homer the whole time we were abroad. And before he returned to England he had become a man.'

This was in May 1840. Richard, now in his nineteenth year, set up a hunter out of his slender allowance, with an occasional second horse—a sufficiently unpretending stud, but one which he made the most of by hard riding and knowledge of the country. In December he received a captain's commission in the Kildare Militia, of which his great-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, was colonel. In 1841 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, but did not reside; and, after the usual course of study with a tutor, took an uneventful degree. During this time he lived much with his grand-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, at Palmerstown, whose

their presumptive his father was. A connection thus began with Palmerstown and County Kildare which gave a turn to his subsequent career. Hayes and County Meath begin to fade into the distance. But in 1842 the death of a dearly-loved brother, from the after effects of a Roman fever, called forth a great burst of home feeling, and is recorded in a little poem, which retains the pathos of the moment long after the hand that wrote it is itself cold. Next year, 1843, Richard Southwell Bourke came of age.

Hayes was essentially a house without concealments or pretences of any sort. A house, too, where mind and body had a free career of growth. 'Our home,' writes one of the family, 'was a very happy one. My father had a most joyous nature, although with a graver side to it, and was gentle-hearted to a degree. Mother's great aim was to make home the happiest house her boys should ever know of, and as they grew up she became even more anxious on this point.' That robust brotherhood has long been scattered, never again to be gathered together on this side of the grave.¹ But judging from the tenderness with

¹ The following details may here be briefly given :—

Richard Southwell Bourke, born 21st February 1822; in 1848 married the Hon. *Countess* *Blanche Julia Wyndham*, daughter of Lord Leconfield, succeeded to the Earldom 12th August 1867; was assassinated, while Viceroy of India, 8th February 1872.

John Jocelyn Bourke, born 5th October 1823; entered the army in 1841; served in the Crimea and through the Indian Mutiny (for list of services see Hart's *Army List*); is now Colonel the Honourable John Bourke, Deputy Adjutant-General at Bristol.

Robert Bourke, born 11th June 1827; called to the Bar in 1852; in 1863 married the Lady Susan Georgiana Brown Ramsay, daughter of the Marquess of Dalhousie; entered the House of Commons in 1868 (see

which her sons ever looked back to Hayes, I think the mother must be held to have succeeded. Happy the family which goes forth on its earthly pilgrimage bearing in its midst, as in a sacred ark, a store of loving memories from childhood! Thrice happy the young man who enters the world with no false standards to get rid of, and with his ideals unconsciously formed on the model of a simple and beautiful home-life.

Dods' *Parliamentary Companion*); is at present Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

George Wingfield Bourke, born 16th February 1829; entered into holy orders in 1856; in 1858 married Miss Longley, daughter of the Archbishop of Canterbury; became rector of Wold Newton, in Lincolnshire, in 1859, and subsequently of Coulsdon, Surrey, where he now resides.

Frederick William Henry Bourke, born 21st May 1831; died 30th October 1842.

Charles Fowler Bourke, born 5th September 1832; was private secretary to his brother, Lord Naas, when Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1866-68; in the latter year was appointed Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland, where he now resides.

Fanny Bourke, born 22d July 1834; died 30th September 1834.

Edward Roden Bourke, born 13th December 1835; educated at Westminster; late a Major in the 3d Hussars (for list of services, see Hart's *Army List*); in 1865 was aide-de-camp to Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Ceylon; acted as military secretary to his brother, Lord Mayo, when Viceroy of India, 1869-72; in 1871 married Emma-Mary-Augusta, daughter of Colonel Hatch, Judge-Advocate-General of the army in India; in 1872 was appointed Postmaster-General of the Madras Presidency, where he now resides.

Henry Lorton Bourke, born 26th September 1840; educated at Harrow; became a partner in the firm of Messrs. Barnett and Ellis, London, where he now resides.

Lady Margaret Harriett Bourke, the only daughter, with the exception of Fanny who died in infancy.

CHAPTER .II.

ENTRANCE INTO LIFE.—[Æt. 21-25.]

THE Palmerstown visits introduced Richard Bourke to new friends. His host and great-uncle, the fourth Earl of Mayo, had married the daughter of William Mackworth Praed. He won no eminence in public life, but he had a character well fitted to influence for good a young man entering the world. His brother-in-law, Winthrop Mackworth Praed, thus touches off his character in some lines written under a little portrait of the Earl, drawn by Queen Adelaide:—

‘A courtier of the noblest sort,
A Christian of the purer school;
Tory, when Whigs are great at Court,
And Protestant when Papists rule.

Prompt to support the Monarch’s crown,
As prompt to dry the poor man’s tears;
Yet fearing not the Premier’s frown,
And seeking not the rabble’s cheers.

‘Still ready—favoured or disgraced—
To do the right, to speak the true.
The Artist who these features traced
A better Subject never knew.’

The Countess of Mayo was a lady of a most cheerful disposition, *petite* in person, and of very engaging

manners. 'She always seemed to me,' writes one of her grand-nephews, 'the personification of sunny amiability; ever on the watch to make her guests happy, and constantly doing little kind and gracious things to those around her. Palmerstown under her rule was a popular and hospitable house, and my brother' (the subject of this Memoir), 'who now became almost a son of the family, met a continual ebb and flow of guests during his visits there.' The Countess lived in the bright world which still sparkles in Praed's *vers de société*, and, childless, clever, and kind, did what such a lady can do to make a young relative's entrance into life pleasant. Her twin sister had married a Mr. Smith, a gentleman who, having made his fortune in the West Indies, resided at Bersted Lodge, Sussex. The Countess of Mayo's duties at Court, as Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Adelaide, had kept the Palmers-town family much in England; and the twin sisters, both childless, carried through life a peculiarly strong and tender attachment to each other. One year the Earl and Countess, with their grand-nephew, lived at Bersted Lodge; the next year Mrs. Smith paid a long visit to Palmerstown; and Richard Bourke thus saw a more varied society than usually falls to the lot of a young Irish squire.

Palmerstown itself was an old-fashioned house, added to from time to time in an irregular manner; the rooms low and small, but enriched with some good pictures, particularly a set of Sir Joshuas. It lay at the foot of a gentle declivity, with no view beyond its

own green park and trees. The domain comprises about four hundred acres, laid out with patches of wood, and belted in with plantations on the outskirts. The old lord, Richard's grand-uncle, had made an artificial lake of ten acres by digging out the lowest portion of the park, and diverting into it an offshoot from the Morrel, a trout-stream which runs behind the house. This piece of water, with its boathouse and wild-fowl and the trout-stream which fed it, were the favourite haunts of Richard Bourke's youth. His countrymen are now raising a new and more spacious mansion on the high ground above, in commemoration of his public services and of his tragical fate. The Memorial House looks down on the little valley where he spent some of the brightest years of his life, and across it to the picturesque mountains of Wicklow, far beyond.

While an undergraduate at Trinity College, Dublin, he spent a few months each year in London, under the Palmerstown auspices; and having got rid of his academical distractions by an unobtrusive degree, Mr. Richard Bourke threw himself with a healthy young man's vigour into the pleasures of society. He devoted a couple of seasons to the art of making himself agreeable; and the Hayes habit of thought, that although he might well enjoy himself for a time, yet that he had to make his own way in life, helped to keep him out of mischief. It would have been a domestic sacrilege to afflict the heavily-weighted father with riot of any serious sort. His mother's companionship had given him a taste for clever society.

This taste the Palmerstown and Praed influences confirmed; and the Countess of Mayo took care that her young kinsman should have the opportunity of indulging it. From strays and waifs of letters which have come down from those years, it would seem that Mr. Bourke had the brightest houses of the Conservative party, then in militant vigour, open to him. His great-aunt, Lady de Clifford, made much of him at her gatherings in Carlton Terrace. This relative, a charming shrewd old lady who lived to a great age and played whist to the last, had been one of Sir Joshua's beauties in her youth, and now delighted in the cluster of able men, whom the repeal of the Corn Laws and the split in the Tory party so soon afterwards scattered. Mr. Bourke also went a great deal to Mrs. Dawson Damer's, in Tilney Street, and the other houses whither the Conservatives of that day were wont to resort. His tall figure, became well known at the now almost historical assemblages of the late Lady Jersey in Berkeley Square. There the Tory statesmen, beauties, and wits met together. Thither, too, came strangers, famous in arts or in arms, and a whole *corps diplomatique* of distinguished foreigners. A fragment of driftwood, cast ashore from the old letters above alluded to, shows in what guise Mr. Richard Bourke at this period flitted before contemporary faces: 'A very young man, with a fine bearing; one of the best waltzers in town, and a great deal made of.'

This pleasant time soon came to an end. In 1845, his great-aunt, Lady de Clifford, died, and Mr. Bourke,

not being able to go out into society, devoted the summer to a tour in Russia. Starting at the end of May with a friend of his own age, the late Lord Eliot, he journeyed to St. Petersburg and Moscow, returning by some of the less visited ports of Finland and the Baltic. His letters, chiefly to his mother, give one the impression of a keen young eye looking for its first time on unfamiliar objects, and of immense powers of physical enjoyment. Armed with introductions, the travellers received all the hospitality of a people famous for their courtesy to strangers; and his epistles breathe a mixture of modest surprise and pleasure at the kindness shown to them. Here is a description of a Russian review thirty years ago:¹

‘We were invited yesterday to Krasnoe Seloe, where the camp is now, a village about twenty-three miles from here (St. Petersburg), to be present at the manœuvres of to-day. We found quarters provided for us in the camp, with wines and everything we could wish for. At six this morning, having put on our uniforms [Mr. Bourke held a captain’s commission in the Kildare Militia], we mounted His Majesty’s horses in a most tremendous pour of rain. Arrived at the ground, we first passed a little tent about six feet square, where the Emperor had spent the night. Then we waited till 8 o’clock in a barn. When the Emperor came out, off went all the cloaks, and we were presented on horseback in the middle of the great concourse of his staff. We were made to stand

¹ Letter to his great-uncle, dated St. Petersburg, June 27, 1845.

a little off the road, and the Emperor rode down towards us. He said a few kind words; asked us what regiments we belonged to, and whether he had known our fathers in England. He then rode on, and we all followed, taking the round of the outposts,—a business of some time, as the army was in occupation of some five miles of ground. There were 56,900 men under arms, all belonging to the corps of the Guards. The general disposition of the armies was printed, which gave us a very good idea of what they were doing. One portion, a retreating army, was commanded by the Emperor; the other, a victorious and pursuing army, was commanded by the Crown Prince. The forces consisted of the Infantry of the Guard, Hussars, Lancers, Cuirassiers, and Cossacks of the Black Sea and the Don, in their picturesque costumes. A small body of Circassians, in their almost Oriental dresses, carried bows and arrows, and were mounted on very Arab-looking horses. Elsewhere he writes: 'The day was so wet that the latter were enveloped in their large hooded burnouses, under which they carried their quivers, yataghans, and other arms. I was told that the greater number of those we saw were people of considerable rank among their own tribes, and ought to be considered more as hostages than as soldiers of the Imperial army. They looked sorrowful but savage; and I fancied that, as they sat on their horses beneath the rain of that northern climate, they appeared forlorn and desolate, and perhaps were thinking of their distant sunny valleys. The Emperor seemed to treat them with all honour.

- Two Circassian trumpeters were with him the whole day, and gave all the signals on their long, semi-circular horns.
- 'The heavy artillery was drawn by six and eight horses to each gun. After two hours' ride, the battle began. And certainly it was the only thing that has ever given me the least idea of what a real battle might be. The driving in of the outposts, the guns galloping about and seizing each little elevation of the ground to fire, the skirmishing, the heavy roll of the musketry, and the hurried retreat, formed altogether a scene quite new to me, from the masses of men engaged, and the quantity of ground passed over during the manœuvres. As far as the eye could reach on all sides, I could see clouds of men labouring in the mimic war. The bugle sounded to stop firing at half-past twelve, and we galloped after the Emperor back to the village, drenched with rain, but delighted with what we had seen, and feeling quite military. 'This is counted rather a small manœuvre here.' Elsewhere: 'His Majesty dearly loves his reviews, and in summer gives himself up entirely to his troops. He spends three or four days of each week in the camp, and has every regiment out in detail to what they call exercises. He marches them all over the country; and soon after this review, he besieged the town of Narva, a hundred miles from Krasnoe Seloe, with eighty thousand men. The Imperial family partake of all the hardships of the mimic campaign, and live for days in a little tent about twelve feet square. The military ardour extends to all grades in

Russia, and little is talked of in summer among the gentlemen of St. Petersburg but *pipeclay*.'

In another letter he relates how he and his friend 'assisted' at the inspection of the Corps des Cadets by the Grand Duke:—'We saw two thousand of these little men, all noblemen's sons, going through the exercises and the evolutions of a regular army. They are maintained entirely at the expense of Government, and at the age of eighteen get their commissions in different regiments. The inspection lasted for four hours, all of us walking about the Champ de Mars after the Grand Duke, who gave each word of command himself. He is said to be the best officer in Russia, and understands military subjects from the smallest to the greatest. Several times he took a gun out of a boy's hand, showing anything that was not quite right. He kept continually saying to me, "*C'est bien, n'est ce pas? Voilà donc, ces braves petits hommes!*" At the end he kept back half a dozen of these baby soldiers, and ordered the little fellows to go through the manual exercise, and made them march; which they did, taking the same stride as any soldier in the service, although the biggest of them was not as tall as Charley' (*æt.* 12). 'They tell a story of a party of the smallest of them being charged last year while in hollow square. The poor little fellows got frightened; first one gave a tiny scream, then another dropped back, till at last, imagining they were going to be ridden over, they made a clean run of it, to the great amusement of the spectators. The Emperor called them

up, and told them that this was not proper conduct for fir Russian officers. The next time they were charged they stood like men, and kept firing from their little guns very steadily.'

Another touch is perhaps worth preserving. It seems that the polka, although already sufficiently well known in London, was still a novelty at St. Petersburg. During a short stay at the Peterhoff Palace, the Empress asked Mr. Bourke if he could dance it. 'I said "Yes;" on which one of her ladies exclaimed, "Déjà! si jeune!"'

Mr. Bourke, having returned from his tour, promptly published an account of it, in two volumes.¹ They are a very fair specimen of a young man's travels,—modestly written, full of eyesight, and not overlaid with moral reflections. 'Another tourist throws himself on the way-worn public,' he begins. 'Another author seeks to gain for himself and his adventures a small share of the attention that the world has so often kindly bestowed on literary wanderers. It is a first attempt in letters—it will remain for his readers to say whether it is to be a last. It tells of a new country and a new people, governed on old principles,—principles that have long since been discarded and condemned by most of the enlightened nations of the world. The author seeks not to praise or to upbraid : such a course would be presumptuous in the extreme, for he is young in years, and totally inexperienced in politics. He therefore merely tells

¹ *St. Petersburg and Moscow: A Visit to the Court of the Czar.* By Richard Southwell Bourke, Esq., 2 vols. Henry Colburn, 1846.

of the country and the people as he himself saw them.'

The book had a temporary success, very flattering to the young author. Its descriptions of Russian life are quiet and good, and had at that time a novelty which they do not now possess. His afternoons in the Florence galleries enabled him to say something worth remembering about the pictures at Lubeck, and touching such artistic treasures as the Imperial wealth and the national religious sense had accumulated in the palaces and on the church walls of the North. The Russians struck him as essentially in the imitative stage, both as regards art and letters; and he supports his position by well-chosen examples of pictorial design, and by the statistics of the book trade, contrasting the enormous number of volumes imported with the paucity of original works produced in the country. His descriptions give a good idea of the varied street-life of St. Petersburg,—the half-barbaric equipages, military groups, wooden pavements, and huge separate masses of public buildings. The summer festivities of the gay villas a few miles distant on the Neva, whither the nobles retired during the hot months instead of to country seats, are also well touched off. But as an author who sets up for a man of fashion must submit to be judged by the laws of social criticism, so must a young man of fashion, who tries his chance as an author, be weighed by the canons of literature. And, judged by the three essentials of a perfect style,—simple words, clear structure, and well-ordered ideas,—Mr. Bourke's book falls short in

many ways. He had a picturesque vocabulary for landscape, with an eye for right and left ; and several of his descriptions, such as the Moscow scenes in volume II., are perfect in their way, had he only known when to hold his hand. But like other young men's books, his work fails in that simplicity which is to the reader what a lady's courtesy is to a guest, and which, while seemingly an unconscious habit, represents the highest result of culture. After all, writing a book is a very useful piece of education. It teaches the author to think ; and it stands as a sign-post to other ardent young souls, pointing the way to greatness, although it may not itself travel thither.

But the value of such an effort in the eyes of a biographer depends not so much upon its literary merits, as on the glimpses which it gives at the writer's inner man. And these volumes show that Mr. Bourke's thoughts had already begun to go out in the direction in which they stedfastly continued through life. In after years Lord Mayo solved, as no previous Viceroy had solved, the problem of his social relations with the great Indian Feudatories. But his tact in this matter would have won very calm praise from those about him ; for the facts of Native society are apt to make Anglo-Indian administrators of talent or earnestness sternly radical. It was his love of the people—his carefulness for those who, in their dumb-animal way, would only feel the burdens of any misrule without the faculty of articulate complaint, that drew to him the hearts of the Indian

statesmen who surrounded him. These early volumes sometimes treat the analogous subjects in Russia with more sympathy than knowledge. But, taken as a whole, they form the best parts of the book. His account of serfdom, and of the practical difficulties which for another quarter of a century stopped the way of enfranchisement; his criticisms on the system of State education, and the hindrances which it placed upon the free flow of thought; his realistic pictures of the Russian peasantry, their tillage and hamlet life, give a clearer and truer although a more sketchy view of the facts, than the sparkling malice of M. de Custine on the one side, or the elaborate decorum of Baron Haxthausen on the other.

Like other English travellers in Russia, Mr. Bourke was struck by the absence of a middle class. 'In no country,' he says, 'except, perhaps, in Ireland, is the transition from the palace to the cabin more abrupt. This is mainly owing to the want of a middle class—that cement of the social state which is so indispensable to the well-being of a commonwealth. The serf in his sheepskin may walk into the palace of his lord, or may watch by his master's gate; but no feeling in his breast tells him that he is born of the same race or formed for the same purposes. And the great lord, knowing his superiority of birth, education, and descent, looks forth on his horde of slaves with all benignity and kind attention. But it is the affection of a good heart for a noble and faithful beast, whose involuntary service may sometimes command the solicitude of the master, but never the least par-

ticipation in a single right of fellowship or friendship.¹

And here are the results : ' We see perfectly devised plans of Government placed among a tangled web of complicated and clumsy political institutions. We see one race of men enjoying all the benefits and exhibiting all the graces of enlightened education, while the other class are sunk in deep ignorance, rudeness, and slavery. We see the palace towering by the cabin, the rod of bondage lying beside the sceptre of righteousness. The rivers flow at one moment among stately fanes and Grecian porticos ; at another, wander through the savage forest and uncultivated morass. All is incongruous ; the social edifice is yet unbuilt, and the materials for its erection lie in splendid confusion on desert ground.'²

Mr. Bourke gives several pages to the protective system with a pleasing candour, considering the last desperate stand which at that very time was being made for it at home. After speaking of the disabilities of the merchants, and the high price alike of the luxuries and of the necessities of life in St. Petersburg, he says : ' I fancy the real secret of the unhealthy state of the commercial interest in Russia is the incompetency of the rulers to legislate properly on this most important branch of political economy. It is impossible that men totally unacquainted with the commonest

¹ Vol. i. pp. 154-155. Here and elsewhere, space compels me (when practicable) to curtail the text.

² Vol. i. pp. 273-274. It should be remembered that these remarks apply to Russia *thirty years ago*.

details of trade can devise measures that would rectify the present system. As long as the Government is entirely in the hands of men selected mostly from the highest class of the nobles, a really enlightened Commercial Minister will be in vain hoped for.' But Protection and official control were not confined to commerce. They penetrated into every nook and corner of Russian life—cramping the education, shackling the handicrafts, and interfering with the amusements of the people. Here is how 'Protection' of the drama practically acted in Russia thirty years ago: 'I never saw the Government management appear so palpably as to-night. The performance did not commence till the Governor had taken his seat, some time after the hour announced; and then the second act of the opera was delayed three-quarters of an hour, in order to permit Prince Frederick to hear as small a portion of Russian as possible. There is no use in drawing comparisons. I have avoided measuring things in other countries by our British standard of excellence, for travellers should leave as many of their patriotic prejudices as possible at home. But I could not help thinking, that were we in the Strand, instead of the Great Place of the city of Moscow, the probabilities are that the interior decorations of the theatre would, before the three-quarters of an hour had elapsed, have adorned the streets outside; and that Governor, performers, Prince, and all, would most likely have taken themselves off. No rebellious tongues among the small audience here dared to express even impatience, and they sat as quietly

and silently doing nothing as if they had been in a conventicle.’¹

The pictures of the Russian husbandmen might have been sketched in a Bengal rice-field, with the single change of plough bullocks for the Muscovite pony. ‘I often saw a man sallying forth to his day’s work, carrying his plough in one hand, and leading the little shaggy pony that was to draw it, with the other. This tool would startle a Lothian farmer, being little more than a strong forked stick, one point of which is shod with iron, and scratches the ground as the pony pulls it along, while the other is held in the man’s hand. The whole turn-out is very like representations I have seen in pictures of the progress of domestic arts at the time of the Saxon Heptarchy. They do not seem to think that straight ploughing at all adds to the fertility of the soil, for they wander about in every direction, and score the ground as best suits their fancy. The animals are fed in the summer in the forest, and in winter are kept in the large stables attached to every cottage.’²

It may well be imagined that a mind trained on the Hayes standard of the responsibilities attached to property saw much that was painful in serf-life. Mr. Bourke admits, however; that the prædial bondsman, under a good master, lived ‘free from want and care;’ and compares the worst sort of the Russian nobles, governing ‘by bad and cruel intendants, and regardless of aught but the money derived from their distant lands,’ to the absentee proprietors of his own country.

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 125-126.

² Vol. ii. p. 38.

He describes the average serf as following some handicraft during the six winter months ; tilling the ground and tending the flocks during the short summer ; on the whole, well fed by his master, or enjoying a fair share of the produce of his toil, and with few wants beyond his log-hut, stove, and sheepskin ; but 'languid, and rarely practising the athletic sports in which the peasants of other lands delight.'

'This, then, is the life of the Russian serf. He knows no law save the will of his master ; and "the Father," as he calls the Emperor, is in his idea the personification of all earthly greatness. When well treated, the serfs are affectionate and grateful, hospitable to strangers, and quiet among themselves ; but the ban of slavery lies heavy upon them, and all their actions betoken a mute and almost sullen submission. Their devotion to their hereditary lords is worthy of a better cause, and merits in many instances the name of virtue. When Napoleon offered them freedom if they would fight against their country, they indignantly refused it ; and scarcely ever in the course of the war did the cause of patriotism suffer from the treason of a slave. They cheerfully sacrificed their lives and properties at the bidding of "the Father." The hand of the serf often fired his whole property, and leaving the home of his childhood, he has wandered with his family, houseless and starving, to the forest rather than the invaders should find food and shelter in the land of the Emperor.' 'The Russian troops were shot down by thousands ; they never thought of leaving the ground they stood on, or deserting the post assigned

them. But they seldom made a brilliant charge or dashed on the foe. It was the heroism more of the martyr than the soldier; the spirit of slavery enabled them to suffer cheerfully, but did not prompt them to act as if victory depended on their own exertions.

‘This might have taught the rulers a lesson. But twenty-seven million souls still bow to the iron rod, and in the nineteenth century slavery as deep as it is undeserved sullies half the surface of Europe. Until the children of the soil be free, Russia may vainly hope to possess the preponderance in the scale of nations that her vast territory entitles her to. Though Europe might justly dread the tenfold augmentation of her neighbour’s power, she would with admiration behold a nation liberated without the effusion of a drop of blood, and freedom doubly blessed from being freely bestowed.

‘It is a good sign for the serf that he who now wears the crown of the Czars is not the owner of a single slave. And though the freedom of the Imperial peasant may be as yet imperfect, still the Russian peasant can tell his sons how the children of “the Father” wear no bonds, and how that Father desires the liberty of all who own his sway. God strengthen those ideas in his breast; and should he ever succeed in perfecting so stupendous a work, the Imperial deliverer of Russia would give freedom to millions, untainted by a drop of Russian blood, unstained by a single tear.’ ‘Visionary all this may be, and many may consider it a dream of boyish folly. But I despair not of living to see Russia free.’

I have had to content myself with sentences from several passages, some of which I would gladly give in full. The following paragraph on the execution of a serf by the knout must close our survey of the book :—

‘The slave who shot the Prince Gargarin some years ago suffered this terrible death. He was made a soldier for the purpose, as this is in a degree a military punishment. He was forced to walk up and down between the ranks of men, while the heavy whip of leather tore away the flesh at every stroke. At the hundred and twentieth lash he fell : his sentence was a thousand lashes. He was asked whether he would have the rest of it then, or wait for another day. He said he would have it then, knowing that to defer it would only prolong his agony. He was then set up, and received a few more blows till he fell again ; they put him up a third time, when he fainted, and was carried away insensible. He died the next day from the mortification of his wounds. This man was a criminal guilty of a heinous crime ; but it is on all sides agreed that the punishment of death is and ought to be considered as an example to the survivors, and not as a means of vengeance on the criminal. Such a scene as I have related is a disgrace to a country calling itself Christian, and contrary to all right principles of government.’¹

These words have become memorable from the appalling fate, then lurking among the tragedies of coming time, to which their writer was destined. It

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 163-164.

is something that we can also remember how, amid that paroxysm of amazement and wrath, the views here expressed by a generous youth became the policy of a great empire—of an empire three times more populous than all Russia in Europe and in Asia put together. This is not the place to speak of the impassive tread with which retribution then measured each step to punishment; how, amid the cries for vengeance by many races and in many tongues, the pulse of justice beat not one throb more or less, and law neither raised nor lowered her voice by a semitone. But the words of a brave and merciful man do not wholly die. The same trial, the same delays of the Courts, the same safeguards of evidence, and the same penalty, for his crime were awarded to the assassin of Lord Mayo, as if the murdered man had been the humblest among the 250 millions of subjects and feudatories over whom the Viceroy ruled.

The writing of this Book did much to mature Mr. Bourke's mind, and to bring it into contact with the more serious aspects of life. And the aspects of the life which now awaited him in Ireland were sufficiently serious. The potato-disease had set in, and the famine years were upon the country. It would be presumptuous in a biographer, sitting on the other side of the globe, to describe a great national calamity which has been so often and so ably delineated. 'These years,' writes his brother, 'were terrible ones for the country gentlemen, taxing their energies to the utmost, and bringing them face to face with economical facts and problems demanding instant solution.' Mr. Richard

Bourke, like hundreds of other high-minded Irish gentlemen, tried to do his duty. His great-uncle and his father both looked to him as their right-hand man ; and the situation of Hayes and Palmerstown, in the adjoining counties of Meath and Kildare, connected him with a large area of suffering and of relief. Neither of the families was wealthy in proportion to its social position in the county, and it the more behoved the heir to grudge no personal exertions. At this time, indeed, Mr. Bourke seems to have lived in the saddle,—attending a public meeting in Kildare county one day, and another thirty miles off in Meath the next ; looking after the charitable distributions ; hunting out cases of starvation ; buying knitting materials, and setting the women to work in their villages ; arranging for the food-supply of outlying groups of huts ; managing the relief lists, and doing what in him lay to calm panic, prevent waste, and battle with famine. Every now and then he would rush over to England with the sewed work, knitted shawls, and the little home-manufactures of the cottagers, and get them sold at good prices through Mrs. Dawson Damer or some other London friend. He had a considerable gift for acting, and had been a welcome guest on that account, among others, at many a neighbour's, in more prosperous times. He now turned this talent and his musical gifts to account, getting up charitable performances, or private theatricals at country houses, and a famous concert at Naas, to which half the county went or subscribed.

At this time, too, his father gave him a small farm.

Here he set about draining and improving, attended the markets, was great at farmers' clubs, bought cattle, and carried his wonted vigour into every detail of agriculture and stock-breeding. The knowledge thus acquired served him in good stead in India. I have seen a file of papers a foot thick go up to him on some question connected with the cattle-plague, or improvement of native breeds or the Government studs, with the opinions of half a dozen able advisers recorded at great length; but the case seldom returned from him to the Secretariat without some practical objection suggested, or some practical difficulty removed.

What between his farm and his hard work in the relief operations, Mr. Bourke became known to many different classes of people, and, especially in County Kildare, got to be looked upon as a rising young man. His great-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, as colonel of the Kildare Militia, had given him a commission while he was still a youth of eighteen. Lord Heytesbury, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, also appointed him to the little post of 'Gentleman at large' on his staff,—an office which brought him pleasantly into contact with the society at the Castle, but entailed no duties except attendance at ceremonies and levées. His first lessons in public business were learned at county meetings and in committees of many sorts during the famine; afterwards at petty sessions, in gaol management, and the local working of the poor laws. And surely there can be no better or more kindly school

for a candidate for public life than county meetings, where a young man is secure of a neighbourly hearing, but where he knows that modesty is expected from his years, and will be enforced. He was a clever sportsman with his gun, and popular in the hunting field, with a firm seat and a keen eye for a line of country. His grand-uncle's generosity had some years before improved upon his first meagre stud; and it now enabled him to take his place comfortably, but without any margin for ostentation, among young men of his age and condition.

Meanwhile, the father had conceived a wider career for his son. Kildare was not really a Conservative county, but, by vigilance over the registers, the father fancied that a moderate Conservative might gain the second seat. The question of Mr. Richard Bourke's going into Parliament had been discussed a year before by his friends in London, and a half hope held out of an English borough. This plan broke through, but it brought before his mind the subjects which he would have to deal with in event of an election. At that time his great friend was Eliot Warburton, the author of *The Crescent and the Cross*. Many a night the two young men sat up together, talking over their literary projects and their political ambitions. The future of Ireland, then in the throes of famine, was the topic dearest to the hearts of both—Mr. Warburton taking the less sanguine view, Mr. Bourke full of anticipation and of hope. Strange to say, the Corn Laws do not seem, either now or hereafter, to have struck Mr. Bourke as a question with which he

had any concern. His whole soul was concentrated upon his own country; and emigration, better farming, compensation to improving tenants, and amended poor laws, were the remedies which he enthusiastically dwelt upon for its calamities. His father's close watchfulness over the county registers began to promise some result. Mr. Bourke had made himself very popular by his famine work, and the letters of those days show that his popularity was not wholly undeserved. No one seems to have had any scruple in demanding his immediate presence wherever a break-down took place. Now it was a long winter-day's ride through blinding sleet to some outlying hamlet. Then it was an urgent need of knitting needles; and Mr. Bourke was expected to set the Palmerstown carpenter, or his old friend Sharpe, at Hayes, forthwith to making them. Next it seems that an accumulation of 'chair covers' had taken place, and Mr. Bourke must find a sale for them. Then a ladies' committee wrote that they were 'over head and ears in debt,' and looked to Mr. Bourke for a charity concert or some other device 'without delay.' Or people who had bought the shawls from the cottagers were slow in payment, and Mr. Bourke must collect the money. In short, he seems to have been very useful, good-natured, and patient throughout the distress; and he was now to reap the reward.

Accordingly, at the election of 1847, Mr. Richard Bourke came forward for the representation of County Kildare. His Conservatism seems to have been of a very moderate type. That party-name, indeed, was

not popular in the county. One of his principal electors plainly wrote to him that they thought they had been ill-served by men sailing under the same colours, and that 'I for one can place no confidence in the empty sound of Conservative.' He would vote, however, for Mr. Bourke from a sense of his personal merits.

The nomination of the candidates took place on the 14th August 1847—the Marquess of Kildare representing the Whigs, Mr. Bourke the Conservatives, Mr. O'Neill Daunt and Mr. John O'Connell the Repealers. The return of the Marquess was a foregone conclusion; the struggle for the second seat lay between Mr. O'Neill Daunt and Mr. Bourke. From the newspaper reports which I have glanced over, the proceedings seem to have been as Irish as could be well desired. However, Mr. Bourke eventually got a hearing, and declared his views. What chiefly strikes an Englishman is, that he has to read a very long way into the speech without coming to any political opinions whatever. The burning State-questions in Kildare at that time seem to have been a certain Roman Catholic churchyard in the parish of Kill, the town funds of Naas, and the personal relations between the Romish priest and the candidates. It is due to Mr. O'Neill Daunt, the Repealer, whom Mr. Bourke appears from a calm English point of view to have been quite needlessly hard on, to observe that he insisted on the mob giving the young Conservative fair play. 'I pledge you my honour,' Mr. O'Neill

Daunt once shouted, 'I will leave the hustings if this gentleman is not heard.' 'I again declare,' he exclaimed, in another crisis of cat-calls, 'I will quit the Court-house if this gentleman does not get a fair hearing.' Father Doyle, too, came gallantly to the front, interrupting the speaker without compunction himself, but moderating the similar exertions of his flock, by bawling out for 'a clear stage and no favour.'

The personal matters having been happily got to an end amid mingled cheers and uproar, Mr. Bourke proceeded to state his political 'creed, and he expressed it in sufficiently wide terms to suit moderate men of very various shades of opinion. He would, of course, support the laws and the constitution, and he quite candidly declared that he would have nothing to do with the repeal of the Union. He was opposed to repeal, because, among other reasons, he did not think it would do what its advocates said it would accomplish. It would not bring back absentees. It would not ensure agricultural or commercial prosperity to Ireland. As a matter of fact, these two interests had declined when the Parliament was sitting in College Green, Dublin; and, as a matter of fact, they had revived from the time that Parliament had been transferred to Westminster. Mr. Bourke adroitly made out his case by an array of figures, showing the shipping and imports and exports before and after the Union. He announced himself 'in favour of compensation to improving tenants. He thought that if a tenant spent his capital in permanent improvements, he had a right to com-

pensionation for them when he gave up his farm. He should feel it his duty to support any measure of that nature. He thought that, while a law was needed for compensating tenant-farmers, another law was quite as much needed for the labouring man. He was for amending the then system of poor-rates. In his idea, the Poor Laws should be based upon a system of securing to the labouring man work and wages, rather than of throwing him upon gratuitous relief. Its basis should be reproductive employment. He declared his intention to support the revenues of the Established Church. He knew that it was not the Church of the majority of the people, but it was the Church of the majority of the property of the country, and it was supported out of the pockets of the landlords, who were nine to one in favour of the Establishment. If the Protestant Church were swept off the face of Ireland to-morrow, farms would not be set a whit cheaper, nor would the mass of the people derive any advantage from its abolition. It was a tax which only fell upon the landlords, the majority of whom were willing and able to pay it.'

His speech was, on the whole, a spirited and successful one. But considering the facts of previous and subsequent elections in County Kildare, his personal popularity and his exertions in the canvass seem to have had as much to do with his return as his political views. Indeed, he charged his opponent, Mr. O'Neill Daunt, with being 'a distinct Tory, and that his feelings and opinions were such as suited a

Tory constituency.' He made a great deal of the inconsistency of such sentiments with Mr. O'Neill Daunt's line of politics as a Repealer. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, Mr. Bourke was then, what he always remained, a very moderate Conservative of the hereditary sort; willing to go steadily with his party in English measures, as the means of obtaining their help in carrying out Irish reforms. On the 18th August 1847 the High Sheriff announced as the result of the poll, the Marquess of Kildare and Mr. Bourke duly elected for Parliament.

And so, in the middle of his twenty-sixth year, Mr. Richard Southwell Bourke entered the House of Commons for his own county, under the banner of the late Earl of Derby and Lord George Bentinck.

CHAPTER III.

PARLIAMENTARY CAREER.—[Æt. 26-46.]

FROM 1847 till 1849 Mr. Bourke sat as a silent member. He was regular in his attendance, voted steadily with his chiefs, and gave up his time to committees and the other unobtrusive labours by which a new man becomes acquainted with his party and learns the ways of the House. These two years were perhaps the happiest in his life. Elected by his own county while still in the first flush of manhood, a favourite in society, the centre of a thousand fond hopes and ambitions at both Palmerstown and Hayes, Mr. Bourke seems to have enjoyed the good gifts of fortune with keen health and relish. His heart was touched by his prosperity, and every now and then through his letters breaks an undertone of humility at the great treasure of home confidence which had befallen him. That confidence struck him; in a quiet way, as a trust of which he was bound to prove himself not unworthy. Life had opened to him very kindly; and the feeling which afterwards clouded some of his most successful and useful years—the feeling of the limitations under which a public life has

to be lived and public work has to be done—had not yet cast its shadow across his path.

There was another reason why at this particular period Mr. Bourke was very happy. Mr. Bourke was in love. He had met the young lady, Miss Blanche Wyndham, in London society. But her father, afterwards Lord Leconfield, son of the late Earl of Egremont, represented a rich English family, while Mr. Bourke was only heir-presumptive to a not wealthy Irish one. However, the young county member persevered in his suit, not without hopes of success. His father's slender means naturally rendered settlements a difficulty. But by this time Mr. Bourke was as much a son at Palmerstown as at Hayes; and his great-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, came forward and made the necessary arrangements. Mr. Richard Bourke went heart and soul into the matter, as indeed it was his nature throughout life to do in whatever he undertook—whether it was a boyish rabbit-hutch on poles to be beyond reach of the dogs, the draining of a little farm, or a great measure for bringing into equilibrium the finances of India. The letters of those days were not intended as materials for biography, and shall not be used as such. He declared his feelings quite freely in prose and verse—the latter being his final efforts in that line, and not an improvement, from a calm point of view, on his earlier ones. It is said that great Parliamentary leaders have found amid the long-drawn course of a debate a reposeful inspiration for hexameters and iambics. The benches of St. Stephen's

were not, however, propitious to Mr. Bourke's rhymes, and he now gave them up for good.

Mr. Richard Bourke, now in his twenty-seventh year, was in mind and person very much what he afterwards remained. It will be for his life and his work to disclose his inner man. Of his outward person it may here be said, that he had a powerful frame, 6 feet 1 inch in height, broad-chested, and hardened by field sports. His face, closely shaven on lips and cheek, was of a ruddy complexion, with a strongly modelled chin, a firm mouth breaking into long curves when he laughed, a large but well-formed nose, a most joyous twinkling eye, and a forehead neither lofty nor broad, but square and compact. He left on one the impression of high animal spirits and tolerant strength. By this time, too, he had shaped in his own mind the life which he resolved to lead. He had seen enough of society to discern the dangers which beset a Parliamentary career for a poor man. He knew that there is scarcely a position in English life so apt to become a false and an unsatisfactory one; and none which, to hold it in a noble sense, demands a higher honour, a more steadfast courage, or a more resolute self-denial. But, knowing all this, he resolved on that life. Hayes and Palmerstown both did what they could. Indeed, shortly after the accession of his father to the earldom, in 1849, the new Earl, not liking Palmerstown so well as his old familiar house at Hayes, gave up the Kildare mansion, with the home farm of 500 acres, to his son. Lord Leconfield helped liberally, and some years afterwards presented his

daughter and son-in-law with a town house in Ecclestone Square. But all this kindness still left Mr. Bourke slenderly provided for a public career. He clearly saw, that if he was to lead the life he had shaped for himself, he would have to be much in society, and yet that both he and his wife must deny themselves some things proper and natural to their station. In a letter written to her a couple of months before their marriage, he very modestly sketches out the career which he hoped to win for her, and the conditions under which it would have to be pursued.

On the 31st October 1848 the marriage took place. It must here suffice to say that it proved a very happy one. Six months afterwards, the great-uncle, who had been so kind a friend to Mr. Richard Bourke, died (23d May 1849). Mr. Bourke of Hayes succeeded, as fifth Earl of Mayo; and Mr. Richard Bourke, as eldest son, took the courtesy-title of the family, Lord Naas. On his father's death, in 1867, he became the sixth Earl of Mayo. But it was as Lord Naas that he was known during the nineteen years which made up the active part of his Parliamentary life. Throughout that period, as afterwards in India, Lady Naas in every sense shared his career, and was his best and nearest friend. Four sons and three daughters were born to them. Twenty-two eventful years passed almost without a parting; and in 1870 he deplores their first separation, when Lady Mayo went home from India for a few months, to see the children. 'We have never been separated before for any length of time,' he wrote. 'I hope you will

dislike it. I shall have a hard time of it here for the next six months' (he was then in the middle of his financial reforms), 'but I shall beat them in the end.'

In February 1849 Lord Naas delivered his maiden speech. 'My dear Mother,' he wrote in the House of Commons library a few minutes afterwards, 'I have just made my first speech—went very well for a quarter of an hour, and was on the whole successful for a first attempt. Disraeli and others told me I did capitally. I was, as you may imagine, in a blue fright. The subject was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act' (Ireland). The next day or two passed in the flutter of spirits incident to the occasion, with the usual discovery that it was 'very badly reported.' However, it seems to have gone off well on the whole. 'I have been congratulated,' he presently writes to his father, 'by Sir James Graham, Dizzy, Grey, and others. I pitched into the Repealers as well as I could.' Such congratulations must be taken partly in a conventional sense, and Lord Naas was the last man in the world to overrate their significance. No successes of a striking sort followed; but he gradually won a position in the House by his genial common sense and judgment. Throughout the next three years he devoted himself, as before, to committees and the details of Parliamentary work—speaking on an average only four times a session, and keeping to the subjects which he knew best. Of these twelve speeches (1849-50-51), ten dealt exclusively with Irish questions; the two others referred to steam communication with Australia

and India. The whole make but fifty-six columns of Hansard.

‘During this period,’ writes one who watched his career, ‘he established for himself in Parliament the position of a sensible country gentleman, speaking from time to time on Irish affairs, and not mixing himself up with general politics. Indeed, this may be said of his whole public life; for, with the exception of one or two colonial matters, I do not recollect any subject unconnected with Ireland on which he spoke.’

He had, however, attracted the notice of the chiefs of his party. He declared his views with much vigour on the necessity of giving improving tenants in Ireland some security for their outlay. The subject had been familiar to him from boyhood, and he brought to it a knowledge of details, obtained in the double capacity of a squire’s son and of a practical farmer, willing to improve his land, but determined to make it pay. In 1851 he supported his party by a great array of facts and figures concerning the Irish milling trade. This question also lay within his personal experience, both from the farmer’s point of view and from the capitalist’s. He knew the actual working of the system; and he succeeded in keeping the ear of the House through 16½ columns of Hansard—the longest speech but one in his twenty-one years of Parliamentary life. An enthusiastic letter of thanks from a meeting of Irish millers rewarded the effort. Next year the Conservatives came into power. People remarked at the time, that Lord Derby, in forming his Ministry, chose a larger proportion than usual of men untried in office.

Lord Naas was one of them. To his surprise and delight, he received the offer of the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland—the highest Parliamentary appointment which an Irish commoner holds in his native country. He was but thirty years of age, and he went at the outset by the name of the Boy-Secretary, a title which Sir Robert Peel and the late Earl Derby had borne before him. He wrote to his brother with diffidence as to his fitness, but very resolute as to trying to do his best: ‘I am a new hand, but at any rate I am not afraid of the work.’

Hitherto Lord Naas had been merely known to the House as a young county member following his family politics; a Conservative of a mild type, not much interested in party questions, and speaking only on subjects which affected his own country, or of which he had personal knowledge. His position now became different. It may therefore be proper for me here to say, quite briefly, that, so far as my comprehension of the matter goes, my views are not those of the party to which Lord Naas belonged. But in India we know neither Whig nor Tory. Every one who thinks at all about his position in that country feels that the British Government of India is merely a *great* trustee for the Indian people. We classify those who are sent out to guide it, not by the old party names which they have borne at home, but according to the degree of their insight into their new responsibilities. It is because Lord Mayo appeared, to those best able to judge of his Indian work, to be a man singularly gifted for the viceregal office,—shrinking from no labour, not timid

and not rash, of a large range of vision, patient of opposition yet firm in his resolves, loyal to his colleagues, and penetrated by a great sympathy for the people,—that I am now endeavouring to write his life. Regarding the measures of his party in England I am not competent to speak. Anything I could say about them would be hastily acquired knowledge. And the prohibition which Lord Mayo inserted in his Will, against the publication of any paper likely to hurt the feelings of either friend or opponent, would render a full and fair narrative impossible. It will be the most honest course to merely print as an appendix certain of the materials which have been placed at my disposal. The reader will therefore pardon me if I here keep silence on many topics concerning which he might fairly look for some notice in the life of a man who, during twenty years, played a not unimportant part in the government of Ireland. To the existing stock of knowledge touching that island, and its recent relations to Great Britain, my narrative will add nothing. But it may show in what spirit one whose duty it was to understand these matters worked, and how that work helped to mould his character and habit of thought.

Having accepted office, he went over to Ireland to seek re-election. But he found things changed in Kildare since 1847. It seems, indeed, doubtful whether his first return for that county had been anything more than a piece of personal good fortune. It had then been just possible for a Conservative to win the second seat by previous vigilance over the voting

registers. The popularity which Mr. Bourke's efforts in the famine won for him sufficed to turn the scale. That ebullition of public feeling had naturally passed off, and the Reform Bill of Sir William Somerville, afterwards Lord Athlumney, had increased the constituency by an extension of the franchise. Lord Naas pointed out the chance of his not being re-elected to Lord Derby before accepting office. He set about a vigorous canvass, however; riding long distances every day, and going through great labour, often with a heavy heart. In the end, the conviction forced itself on him that his prospect of regaining his seat was slight, that the contest would be very severe, and that riot and bloodshed might occur, while he himself, as Chief Secretary, was responsible for the peace of the county. He therefore thought it wiser to retire. Negotiations were opened for a less difficult constituency. The member for Cqleraine vacated his seat, and Lord Naas came in for that borough.

This was his first disappointment in life. He had prized the honour of sitting for his own county, and he felt that his retirement from it might be construed as a blow to the new Government. It seems, however, questionable whether Lord Naas had the needful fortune for frequently contesting a great constituency like Kildare. It is certain that his return would not then have represented the actual facts of political opinion in the county. Lord Naas, like other unsuccessful candidates, fancied that his ill-luck resulted from an unscrupulous combination against him of Repealers, Roman Catholics, and extreme people of various sorts.

But, so far as the documents enable me to pronounce, he was simply beaten because his views were not in accord with those of the majority of the electors. All things considered, it was fortunate for Lord Naas that he thus early in his Parliamentary life gave up a position which would have strained his private means, and proved a source of increasing anxiety at every dissolution and each time he took office. He sat for Coleraine, in the north of Ireland, from 1852 till 1857; when he came in for Cockermouth, backed by the Wyndham interest, and represented that borough until he left for India, in 1868.

In his speeches at Coleraine he insisted, as usual, on his views regarding compensation to improving tenants. But all parties in Ireland now realized that something must be done in this matter, and it had become only a question as to which of them should impress its own views on the measure. During the short time which the Conservatives then held office, Lord Naas brought forward, besides a Tenant Right and a Tenants' Compensation Act, several very important Bills affecting Ireland. He spoke only on Irish questions; and after the resignation of his party, he steadily pursued the same system until the Conservatives again came into power, in 1858. During these six years he was practically the Parliamentary leader of the Conservative party in Ireland, and of the Irish Conservatives in the House. His father sat as a representative peer in the Lords, voting with the Tories, but scarcely speaking, and taking little interest in politics.

The Crimean war came, and brought anxiety and unrest into every English household. To the Bourkes, as to most other families, it had its own domestic pathos. The second son, now Colonel the Honourable John Bourke, gave up his staff appointment and joined his regiment, the, 88th Connaught Rangers, on its being sent to the seat of war. The Earl and Countess of Mayo were then residing in Paris, and it fell to Lord Naas to keep his parents informed of each crisis. His letters, full of that mingling of affectionate pride, heart-eating anxiety; and subdued longing for the end, which form the true discipline of war to a nation, recall the family aspects of the struggle with a most affecting veracity. The 88th did its duty, and now bears the names of 'Alma,' 'Inkermann,' and 'Sevastopol' among the proud list on its 'colours. But the weary waiting for the roll of killed and wounded is the chief record which its achievements have left in these letters. Lord Naas tries to comfort his mother during the suspense by a mixture of religious consolation and the doctrine of chances. 'Keep up, and hope in God he may be safe. Two thousand men are about one in seven killed or wounded of those engaged; so even human chances are in our favour. But it is in the God of battles we must trust.' Then, a few days later, 'My dearest Mother,—The list of killed and wounded has just arrived. Thank God, our dear Johnny is safe. It is the greatest mercy our family has ever received, and I trust we may be thankful for it to the end of our lives. What an awful list!' Shortly afterwards: 'The report of a second great

battle on the 8th so staggered me, that I came into Dublin this morning, and found it all a lie. The Emperor of Russia has sent Dunkellin' (eldest son of Lord Clanricarde, the head of the other branch of the Bourkes) 'home, without ransom, as a present to his father. Johnny Conolly' (a dear friend and son of a neighbour in Kildare) 'behaved with the greatest gallantry. His little picket of fifteen men fired fifty rounds before they retired. The Russians made a push at him. He knocked down one with his telescope, another with his fist, and was making at another with his sword, when the fellow stepped back and shot him at two yards' distance. The ball went right through the centre of his chest, and came out under the shoulder-blade, carrying off a portion of the bone. The lung is safe, but the bone will be very critical as it comes away. He is going on well.' 'I hope we may get another letter from Johnny' (his brother) 'to-day. God bless you, dearest mother, and give you strength to bear up.'

How the ever present anxiety of those winters penetrated the smallest details of life! 'I went to Ballinasloe last Monday,' he writes, 'and bought thirty-one heifers. The cost was enormous, £15, 5s., and they never can pay unless prices keep up. But they were as cheap as any in the fair. I went over to Lord Cloncurry's place for the night. John Burke, of Johnny's regiment, was there. He told me a great deal about him. He said he did his work well. He - says he saw him telling off his company, after the battle of Inkermann, as coolly as if he had been on

parade. They were all surprised at his taking to his duty so keenly after being so long on the staff. Burke does not think we shall take Sevastopol until the whole place is invested. He says it grows stronger every day, and that the last advance which the Russian engineers have made in their works was the smartest thing ever done.' In the second Crimean winter, Captain Bourke had again the honour of serving on the staff; but when hostilities once more threatened to become hot, he again obtained leave to go back to his regiment. Lord Naas writes to his mother, that 'Johnny has made up his mind to resign his staff appointment. It will be a shocking anxiety to us all, but we must remember that if it be God's will to preserve his life, he is as safe there as in his bed at Hayes. Besides, he was beginning to fret at being away from his regiment on active service.' 'They all agree that the generals have not distinguished themselves. The whole state of the thing is discouraging. But one thinks more of our own than of anything else, and if we could only get Johnny back safe, I would be content.' And so on and on throughout the war, telling the same old story of love and anxiety and pride, which is chronicled in a thousand household records of those days.

Meanwhile Lord Naas went forward in his own career, not speaking often, but doing good work for his party in many unostentatious ways during their six years in opposition. The experience of individual men thus gained was now to serve him in good stead.

He had won the liking and confidence of the Irish Conservatives in the House ; and Lord Derby, when he came into power in 1858, again offered Lord Naas the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. A long list of measures in that and the following year bears witness to his activity. One who was officially connected with him in two of his principal Bills thus writes : ' What struck me in my communications with him on these matters was this. After the Bills had been settled by those conversant with the legal part of the subject, he would detect errors which had escaped us all. He swooped down upon a flaw like a scholar on a false quantity, and would sometimes break up a whole set of clauses with his own hand, and re-write them himself, saying, " There, now ; you may put it into legal language, but that is the sense of the thing I want." Again, when a draftsman would produce something very symmetrical and beautiful in theory, he would say : " That's all very fine, but the House of Commons won't look at it." At this time he began to feel almost a despair of accomplishing any real work for Ireland, owing to the factions within herself and in Parliament. I do not think he had more respect for the ultra-Orange party than he had for the Fenians. He believed they were alike hurtful to the country, and that the opposition to be expected from one, or, it might chance from both, made it hopeless to attempt anything sound or moderate. This feeling especially oppressed him with regard to his Tenant-Right Bills and his educational measures. He had at the same time so warm a regard for many

friends of various shades of opinion, that it hurt him sorely when he felt it his duty to propose a policy which he knew they would not approve of. He would say to them : " Well, if you don't like my Bill, you'll have to swallow something much worse from the Radicals next year." His love for Ireland was inexhaustible, and alone carried him through the vexations of trying to work for her. He loved the people, he liked the climate (he hated an east wind or a frosty day), he liked the sport, and he loved his friends and neighbours. I recollect his saying to me when a political opponent, Lord Dunkellin, died : " Dunkellin is a great loss ; he loved Ireland so truly, and understood her so well, that he would have done real good for us all some day."

A colleague, who afterwards came into the closest relations with Lord Naas in his Parliamentary work, writes to me thus : ' Lord Mayo lived too far ahead of his party for his own comfort. Though he was a member of a Tory Cabinet, I think that his opinions were shared to the full by only one member of that Cabinet, Mr. Disraeli. He was not entirely a Conservative of his own day ; neither was he a Liberal, according to the tenets of the Liberal party of his time. He was a large-minded politician, who felt the necessity of belonging to one party or another if he were to effect anything practical. While revering the Established Church, he admitted the right of every man to choose his own creed, and denied to no faith a power to save. While he desired to maintain

all rights essential to the security of landed property, he was anxious to do away with the legal or technical difficulties that stand between the tillers of the soil and the full enjoyment of the results of their labour. If he could only see a real reform in the state of the land and of the cultivator, he cared not whence or how it came. He believed that any permanent improvement of the land ought to be for the benefit alike of the owner and of the tiller of the soil. His idea was, "If you really improve my land, you shall not lose by so doing, and any rule or law that says otherwise shall be done away with." He used to argue that, if you prevent such reforms you injure yourself as landlord, and you act unjustly to your fellow-men. Liberty of thought, of faith, and of action he loved more than life itself. The exercise of either spiritual or temporal power for purposes of intimidation or wrongful coercion was to him hateful. He had an unresting sympathy for all in want or in misery. For the lunatic poor, for prisoners, and for the fallen, his heart was always urging him to work; and for them he *did* work, and did good work.'

Another colleague, the present Earl of Derby, has touched off his character as an official: 'I have known other men, though not very many, who were perhaps his equals in industry, in clearheadedness, and in the assemblage of qualities which, united, form what we call a good man of business; and I have known men, though but few, who possessed perhaps to an equal extent that generosity of disposition, that unfeigned

good humour and good temper, which were among the most marked characteristics of our lamented friend; but I do not know if I ever met any one in whom those two sets of qualities were so equally and so happily united. No discussion could be so dry, but Lord Mayo would enliven it with the unforced humour which was one of his greatest social charms. No question could be so complicated, but that his simple, straightforward way of looking at it was quite sure of suggesting something of which you had not thought before. He understood thoroughly how important an element of administrative success is the conciliation of those with whom you have to deal; but the exercise of that power was with him not a matter of calculation, but the result of nature. He did and said generous things, not because it was politic, not because it was to his political interest, but because it was his nature, and he could not help it. I do not think he had in the world a personal enemy; and so far as it is possible to speak of that which is passing in another man's mind, I should say he had never known what it was to harbour against any person a feeling of resentment. We who acted with him in Irish matters can bear witness to his firmness when firmness was necessary, to the soundness of his judgment in difficulties—and difficulties just then were not unfrequent—and, above all, to that coolness which was never more marked than in critical moments.'

'As the chief of a great office,' writes one well competent to speak, 'he had the finest qualities.'

Early in his habits, regular in his work, and unceasing in industry, he set a great example ; and he knew, somehow or other, the secret of getting out of every one under him the maximum of work which each might be capable of. He had a faculty which I have never observed so fully developed in any one else, of detecting a single blunder in the papers before him. I have seen him open a large file of documents, and almost immediately hit upon an inaccuracy, either in the text or in the subject-matter. I once handed him a long Bill, revised with great care by the Crown lawyers, and saw him discover in almost an instant of time what proved to be the only clerical error in it. He was my idea of a great head of a department, knowing every branch of the work, familiar with almost everything that had been done by his predecessors, and always ready to meet and to overcome difficulties.'

This facility of work was no doubt largely due to the fact that Lord Naas held only one office, and that he held it each time that his party came into power during twenty years. He made Ireland his specialty from the first, and the Chief Secretaryship, with its rules, precedents, and every detail of its duties, sat as familiarly on him as the clothes which he wore. In 1859 his party went out, and during the next seven years Lord Naas was again the Parliamentary leader of the Irish Conservatives in opposition. He had no enemies except among the more extreme parties of his countrymen on either side. His political opponents frequently consulted him, and have been

ready to acknowledge the practical hints which they obtained from him. The truth is, as the colleague already quoted says, that he was more anxious to obtain good measures for Ireland than careful as to the party whence they might come. Indeed, his maiden speech in 1849 had been in support of the Ministry to whom he was politically opposed; and although his official connection with his own party afterwards placed a fitting reticence on his words when he disagreed with it, he was ever willing to help any one who he thought was doing real work for Ireland.

During these years of opposition, he spoke vigorously upon the Irish prison system, poor relief, national and mixed education, police, agricultural statistics, registration Acts, and many other questions connected with his own country. He was not a brilliant orator, but he put forward his views with sense and firmness, and always spoke with a perfect knowledge of the facts. When the Conservatives again came into power in 1866, Lord Derby for the third time offered him the Chief Secretaryship, with a seat in the Cabinet, and in that office he remained until he left for India in 1868. This marks the period of his greatest political activity. A bare list of the measures which he introduced into Parliament, or carried out in his executive capacity, would fill many pages. The subjects were the same as before, and they dealt with almost every side of the condition and wants of Ireland. These years are chiefly remembered in England by the Fenian agitations, which, both before and after them, had, under one name or another,

perplexed Irish Ministers.¹ But in Ireland they are known as years of well-planned improvement in the practical administration.

It is, however, with the personal rather than with the public aspects of this part of his career that I have to do. I confine myself, therefore, to the reminiscences of those who worked with Lord Naas during these years. 'I first had business with him on the subject of gaol management,' writes one of them. 'His great objects were the simplification of the existing laws, the reduction of prison expenses, and above all, the utilization of the prisoners as labourers and mechanics. He surprised me much by his knowledge of the details of the existing system, and his prevision of the practical difficulties of any change—although the change was the very reasonable one of utilizing labour hitherto wasted in turning crank wheels and picking oakum. He had made up his mind that criminal lunatics should no longer be detained in county prisons. So earnest and determined was he on this subject, that when, owing to the press of business in 1867, we felt he could not carry his Prison Bill, he introduced and carried a Lunatic Asylums Act, providing for the confinement of that unfortunate class in District Asylums. As I got more insight into his method of working, my first impressions of his capacity for mastering details and estimating results strengthened every day. I found the secret of this faculty consisted in the circumstance that he gave an unusual length of time to each subject in

¹ For a narrative of the conspiracy see Appendix A.

private, before bringing it on publicly. He was an early riser for one whose duties kept him up late, invariably at work by 10 o'clock; and when the House was not sitting, he went steadily on till about 8 o'clock in the evening. After dinner, he read all letters and despatches which came by the late post, sorted and minuted them before he went to bed, and answered such as were of a pressing nature there and then. He had also a knack of economizing his labour. He did his minutes and correspondence through a shorthand writer, excepting those of a strictly confidential nature. The state of the country then rendered the Irish correspondence unusually heavy. Every day letters poured in from the constabulary, county magistrates, resident gentry, and informers. Yet each single letter or paper was read, digested, and minuted by himself, and, if necessary, answered. Curiously enough, their contents were never forgotten, and seemed to be actually printed and indexed on his brain.'

'In 1867 he had no fewer than thirty-five Bills in preparation. I often wondered how one man could carry so much in his head about matters so different in their nature and so difficult in themselves. Yet I always found him perfectly conversant with each, prepared on the moment to discuss any change I might suggest, and ready with a reason why he had not framed his instructions on the plan I might propose. He never lost his presence of mind. I well remember one morning in March 1867 I received a message at an early hour from Lord Naas, saying that he would like

to see me. When I entered his room at the Irish Office, he was sitting at a table writing a letter, looking uncommonly well and fresh, and quite composed and quiet. He handed me a telegram, and went on with his writing. I read that during the night there had been a rising of Fenians near Dublin. I confess I was considerably agitated, and did not conceal it. I shall never forget the demeanour of Lord Naas. He had lost not a moment in sending a copy of the telegram to Her Majesty, and preparing the case for the Cabinet. What puzzled him more than anything was the sudden stoppage of any further news. We telegraphed again and again, but it was not till late in the afternoon that any clear answers were received. He issued all the orders with the same quiet and precision as if dealing with ordinary work. He had at once determined to go that night to Ireland, and to remain there till order was restored. He had perfect confidence in his arrangements, and he declared that the insurrection could never assume any serious importance. But he was uneasy for the safety of persons living in isolated parts, and about the small bands of villains who would use a political disturbance as a shelter for local crimes. He said: "I dread more than anything else that a panic will be fed by newspaper reports, and that an outcry may get up that Ireland ought to be declared in a state of siege, and military law proclaimed. To this I will never yield, although I know my refusal will be misrepresented, and may for the moment intensify the alarm." It is unnecessary in a personal narrative to repeat what

followed in the Fenian camp. The insurrection, if it may be dignified by that name, was immediately stamped out. Lord Naas put it down in his own way, yielding neither to threats nor entreaties; acting wisely and firmly, and allowing himself to be influenced neither by newspaper panics, nor by patriots in the House of Commons, nor by rebels outside it. When he returned to London, he went on with his Government Bills precisely as if nothing had happened, and no fewer than eighteen of his measures prepared in that year received the Royal assent.' It must be remembered that here and in the next few pages I quote from documents supplied by members of Lord Mayo's own party,—by men attached to him. But their high position, and their opportunities for knowing the facts, entitle them to speak on questions of English administration, touching which I myself am not qualified to write.

'The session of 1867 proved a severe one, but, worn out as he was, Lord Naas went on working, giving everybody else leave of absence, but taking no rest himself. When remonstrated with, he wrote to me: "I do not see the chance of an hour's holiday, as Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Parliamentary counsel are all away." These few words show exactly the nature of the man,—industrious himself, even beyond his robust strength or the necessities of his office, but always indulgent towards others.' 'I remember,' writes one of his most valued subordinates, 'his ordering me to go to the Derby one spring, thinking I wanted a day's rest. He even took the trouble of telling me exactly about the best riding road from Wimbledon, where I was then.'

living, and explained certain bridle paths and short cuts, that he had found out for himself some years before.'

In January 1867 his mother died. His father survived her only six months, and on 12th August 1867 Lord Naas succeeded as sixth Earl of Mayo.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Ministry were in a minority in the House of Commons. It became clear in 1868 that a general attack might be expected, and that the Opposition would select Irish ground. Accordingly, in that session Mr. Maguire, then member for Cork, moved for a committee of the whole House to consider the state of Ireland. On this occasion Lord Mayo was made the mouthpiece of the Government. His speech, although not successful as a Parliamentary utterance at the moment, forms a most valuable contribution to the political history of Ireland. 'This speech,' writes one who was associated with him, 'required very careful preparation. Lord Mayo proposed to show how, notwithstanding Fenianism and local disaffection, the general prosperity of Ireland was steadily increasing. This he unquestionably proved by facts, statistics, and arguments. The collecting and arranging of the facts would have tried a man in full health. And unhappily, Lord Mayo was at that time very far from well. The day before, he could not leave his house, and the day of his speech he was only a trifle better. He spent the whole twelve hours in checking his materials and figures, and, according to his custom while thus engaged, ate nothing. When he rose to speak, he was both ill and weak, and at one time could hardly proceed. It may

be easily understood that he failed to give life or pleasantness to the dry details with which he had to trouble the House. As a matter of fact, the speech, although sound and complete in itself, proved a long and heavy one to the listeners. But when read afterwards, it struck us all as forming, in point of knowledge, truth, care, and logic, a complete answer to the charges brought by the Opposition.'

Lord Mayo himself felt very unhappy about it for some days. The fact seems to have been, that it was one of those speeches which, from the number and complexity of the details involved, are better read than heard. It is now the accepted authority regarding the state of Ireland, and a permanent storehouse of facts to which both parties resort.¹ At the time it led to a rumour that Lord Mayo was disclosing the policy known as 'levelling up.' 'It was his wish,' writes one who knew his mind, 'that grants of public money might be made to institutions without respect to creed, whether Catholic or Protestant, established for the education, relief, or succour of his fellow-countrymen; and that no school, hospital, or asylum should languish because of the religious teaching it afforded, or because of the religion of those who conducted it. He would even, I think, have gladly seen such of the revenues of the Irish Church as might not be absolutely wanted for its maintenance applied to these purposes. So far, but so far only, he was for levelling up.'

The feeling which, ten years before, forced itself

¹ See, for example, Earl Russell's *Recollections and Suggestions*, p. 344.

on him during his second tenure of office, as to the difficulty of doing any real good for Ireland, had deepened since. The interval in opposition, and his experience as Chief Secretary for the third time, impressed him more strongly than ever with the necessity of Irish reform, and at the same time more keenly with the unlikelihood of his being permitted to effect it. So far as I am competent to hazard an opinion, it seems to me that his views went too far for his own friends, and not far enough to take the matter out of the hands of the other great party, to whom the actual accomplishment of Irish reform soon afterwards fell. The sense of the English nation, moreover, appears to have been that the work would be best done by those whose general policy identified them with liberal measures. Lord Mayo believed intensely in the need of such measures for Ireland; but he did not belong to the reforming party in England, nor was it possible for him to frame a plan which would satisfy that party and at the same time retain the support of his own. It only remained for him to go on with his work faithfully, with however heavy a heart. Estimated by the number of Acts which he prepared and passed through Parliament, or by the executive improvements made in the Irish Administration, these three years (1866-68) were the most useful ones in his English career. But, judged by what he had hoped to effect, and what he now felt it impossible to accomplish, they were years of frustration and painful self-questioning. Shortly afterwards, with the bitterness of this period fresh in his

memory, he wrote to a brother who had just entered Parliament on the Conservative side : ' I advise you to leave Ireland alone. There is no credit to be got by interfering with her politics, and your position does not make it your duty to do so.'

But the way in which he bore up amid these difficulties, and the actual work which he managed to do in spite of them, had won the admiration of administrators unconnected with the party government of England. In the first half of 1868, one of the leading members of the India Council, a man of tried experience both in India and in the direction of her affairs at home, spoke to a brother of Lord Mayo as to the likelihood of his succeeding Lord Lawrence as Viceroy. He said that the feeling in the Indian Council pointed to him as the fittest man. On this being repeated to Lord Mayo, he replied : ' Not a bit. So-and-so is as fit as I am, and has a better claim.' But, later in the session, he one day said to his brother : ' Well, Disraeli has spoken to me about India ! He mentioned that Her Majesty had asked him whom he thought of nominating for the office of Viceroy, should we still be in office when it became vacant ; that he had brought forward my name among others, and that Her Majesty had expressed herself very graciously about the way I had conducted Irish affairs.' Almost at the same time the Prime Minister also mentioned to Lord Mayo that the Governor-Generalship of Canada would immediately be vacant, and gave him to understand that he might have that at once, while it was by no means certain that the

Ministry would be in power next January, when the Viceroyalty of India actually demitted.

So the matter remained for some weeks. Lord Mayo struggled between his love for his children, whom he could take with him to Canada, and the more splendid sphere of activity offered in India, where he would be separated from them. At length he decided on the wider and more independent career, and made up his mind to refuse Canada on the chance of India being offered to him when the time came. A few months afterwards the offer was made, and Lord Mayo's Parliamentary life came to an end. Mr. Disraeli, in addressing the Buckinghamshire electors in the same November, thus spoke of the recent labours of that life, and of the reasons which had induced Her Majesty to reward them : 'With regard to Ireland, I say that a state of affairs so dangerous was never encountered with more firmness, but at the same time with greater magnanimity ; that never were foreign efforts so completely controlled, and baffled, and defeated, as was this Fenian conspiracy, by the Government of Ireland, by the Lord-Lieutenant, and by the Earl of Mayo. Upon that nobleman, for his sagacity, for his judgment, fine temper, and knowledge of men, Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the office of Viceroy of India. And as Viceroy of India, I believe he will earn a reputation that his country will honour, and that he has before him a career which will equal that of the most eminent Governor-General who has preceded him.'

During his twenty-one years of Parliamentary life

(1847-68), Lord Mayo spoke upwards of 140 times, filled the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland thrice, prepared and introduced (I am told) 36 Bills, and carried 33 Acts to completion through the House. His 133 principal speeches fill 524 columns of Hansard, and deal with every subject connected with the administration of his native country. 'It was, however, in the executive details of that administration, rather than in his Parliamentary appearances, that the value of Lord Mayo to his party lay. In his legislative measures the apprehension constantly harassed him that he was going farther than many of his friends would approve of, and yet not far enough to disarm their political opponents. This divergence from formerly warm allies grieved him deeply, and drew from him several letters, in which self-reliance is curiously mingled with regret and pain. In one such letter to Lord C——, in 1868, he defends his catholicity of spirit towards the conflicting creeds of his native country. The paper is too lengthy to be reproduced in full, but it reads like an amplification of Matthew Arnold's maxim, that the State should be of the religion of all its subjects, and of the bigotry of none of them. A few sentences, dealing with one aspect of State liberality, and at the same time disclosing his grief at the political breach which had taken place between himself and his friend, must suffice. Of course many persons will differ from his views:—

'I desire to continue the policy for Ireland which every statesman, Whig and Tory, not blinded by bigotry, from Pitt to Peel, has tried to promote.

Regium Donum has made the most republican body of men in the United Kingdom, the Presbyterian ministers, loyal and contented. Maynooth shuts the mouth of many a priest who would otherwise be a rebel. The convent schools, Catholic reformatories, convict houses of refuge, etc., are all working well. The granting of commissions to Roman Catholic and Presbyterian chaplains for the army brought more gratitude than you could have supposed from so small an affair. The Irish Church binds to England the more influential portion of the community. I only proposed a vote of a few hundreds a year (I believe it would have been under a thousand) for a Catholic university. I feel certain that time and the decline of religious rancour would have developed it by degrees. Equality is gradually being gained among the Churches by the elevation of the character and the status of the Roman Catholic clergy, and by their rapid acquirement of wealth. The feeling of inferiority is fast passing away among them. The policy [under which this has taken place] is a sound one. But since the day that Pitt was forced to abandon emancipation and endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy as a portion of his Union scheme, the most powerful minister has never been able to advance more than a very short step at a time. It is, I firmly believe, the only policy by which Protestantism and the British connection can be maintained in more than one-half of Ireland. But all that is now at an end. I who, a year ago, hardly differed with you on a single point in politics, must take up with the Orangemen,

whom I distrust. You must range yourself alongside of the Papists, whom you hate; and so the horrid game will go on, to the devil's profit. I own I was much pained by many expressions in your speech. As far as I am concerned, I know they are undeserved.'

To the outward world, Lord Mayo's career had seemed a fortunate one. Elected for his own county on his first start in public life; appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland while still a very young man; re-appointed to that post on each of the two occasions on which his party had subsequently held power; a favourite in Parliament and among his country neighbours; a Cabinet Minister, with considerable patronage passing through his hands; he had succeeded to his family estates while still in the prime of life, and become the head of an ancient and a noble house. With a well-knit frame, and great powers alike of physical and mental enjoyment, he now possessed a fortune adequate to his place in the world, but not involving the responsibilities incident to the administration of a great English income. Yet the divergence steadily widening between Lord Mayo and the Party with whom he had set out in life, made him at this period a very unhappy man. 'I remember,' writes a friend, 'one summer evening we sat till late together, and for the first time he let me see his inner self. I felt much for him, for I knew how well and hard he had worked for Ireland, and how poor had been the acknowledgment. Then, too, I saw how greatly he longed for some sphere of usefulness, in which he could show the world what he was made.'

of, and test the strength which he felt in him, but never had had the chance of putting forth as he wished.' In such moods Lord Mayo turned towards his family as a refuge from the frustrations which beset his public life. He had always tried to make himself the friend of his children; and in 1868 his letters breathe a peculiar tender playfulness which, considering his own state of mind at the time, is not without a certain pathos.

Wherever he might be, and whatever the pressure of his anxieties or his work, he always found time for his boys. Some of his notes are scribbled from the House of Commons, others from his office; many from country houses where he had run down for a day's hunting or shooting. Throughout they bear the impress of a kindly, genial man, who had the sense to see the policy of making his children his companions and allies. One of his sons is always 'My dear old Buttons,' another 'My dear old President,' or 'My darling old Boy,' and so forth. From one who appears to be starting on a rowing excursion on the Thames, he wishes to know, 'What day do you go on your great voyage?' and so, 'Good-bye to my Powder Monkey, and tell me what day you leave Eton.' To another he is 'very sorry to hear that you are in the Lower School, as it will keep you back sadly hereafter; but the only thing now is to work very hard, and get a remove every half, or even a double remove.' 'I send you my address,' he writes from the Conservative borough of Cockermouth; 'stick it up in your room, and lick any Radical boy that laughs at it.' 'I am

glad you like your school, though I am somewhat afraid, by your liking it so much, that you are neither worked very hard in your head nor birched on the other end.' To another, 'I send you thirty shillings for your subscription. The Eton beagles will have to go precious slow if your old toes can carry you up to them.'

He could give advice when needful. 'My dear old Boy,' he writes to one of his sons, who he heard was making some not quite desirable acquaintances, and who had replied in a spirited letter that he could not desert his friends, 'I liked your letter very much, because you spoke out your mind, and told me what you thought. I do not want you to give up your friends, or to do anything mean; but I did hear that you were intimate with one or two fellows who were not thought much of in the school, and not your own sort at all. This annoyed me; for I should hate to think any boy of mine was not able to hold his own with his equals. I think that you had better extend your acquaintance, and, without giving up any of your old friends, mix more generally with the boys, and let them see you are as good as any of them. It is a bad thing to be always chumming up with one or two chaps, as it leads to jealousy and observation, and prevents you from studying the characters of many whom you will have in after life to associate with or to struggle with. Those are my sentiments. I know you will try and follow them.'

Lord Mayo found another resource against the vexations of a public career in his love of country life and field sports. In England he was an ordinary,

politician, not distinguished by commanding wealth or by any great hereditary influence, and deficient rather than otherwise in oratorical graces, who made his mark by strong common sense, and the power of mastering details and of doing hard work. In Ireland he was known as an indefatigable sportsman and a most joyous country neighbour, whose time and purse were always at the service of his friends. When a young man, his famine-work had made a name for him in County Kildare, and his genuine kindness of heart, with a happy Irish way of adapting himself to his company, steadily increased his popularity as he went on in life. No sketch of Lord Mayo would be complete which overlooked this side of his character. It was the aspect in which he was best known to a large proportion of his friends; and his country tastes helped in no unimportant way to keep his temper sweet and his nature wholesome, at a time when he began to feel somewhat keenly the difference between what he had hoped to do for Ireland, and what he would be practically permitted to accomplish.

Many of the documents which have been supplied to me bear on this phase of Lord Mayo's activity as an Irish country gentleman. But neighbourly good feeling, and the unostentatious discharge of local duties, are too common alike in Irish and English counties for a biographer to dwell on them with any degree of insistence. I shall therefore confine myself to one feature of his country life in which he attained real eminence, and which afterwards contributed to his popularity and public use-

fulness in India. Lord Mayo was a sportsman in more than the ordinary sense. To a keen physical relish for many forms of manly exercise, he added a less common industry in the branches of knowledge collateral with them. He was not content with enjoying hunting; he studied it. At Palmerstown he set on foot and personally managed an association for improving the breed of horses and cattle. His work as M.F.H. will be presently noticed. He familiarized himself with the country which he hunted, as a general would study a district which he had to hold or to invade; and, indeed, he used to say laughingly, that he thought he might do very well some day as Commander of the Forces in County Kildare.

When Lord Mayo accepted the Mastership of the Foxhounds in 1857, he found that a succession of hard winters had left the Kildare hunting country destitute of good coverts, the severe frosts having killed the gorse. Just before he became Master, the huntsman, after a blank day in the centre of the country, had declared that he could not tell where they should find a fox the next season, and gentlemen who knew Kildare felt that it would not afford two days' hunting a week for many years to come. At a hunt-meeting on the 4th May 1857, it was found, moreover, that the finances were in as bad a way as the coverts, the estimated expenditure for the next season being £1650, against which there was only a sum of £900 from subscriptions, with £250 of field-money, leaving a deficit of £500 for the year. To deal with the crisis, it was unanimously

voted that Lord Mayo (then Lord Naas) should take the hounds; and so he started as M.F.H., with no coverts, a scanty supply of foxes, and insufficient funds.

He first set himself to bring about an equilibrium in the finances and to do this he felt he must give value to the subscribers for their money. He rejected a friendly proposal to hunt only twice a week for the first season, declaring that Kildare should never sink into a two-day-a-week country in his time, and labouring to make up for the poverty of the coverts by good management and hard work. One day, during his first season, a firm supporter said to him: 'Well, you have now drawn two turnip-fields, three hedgerows, and one highroad. Have you a covert for the evening?' He said he had, and gave a fine run. His industry and popularity soon began to tell on the funds. Before the end of his first season the subscriptions had risen to £1450, and the field-money to £358, thus quenching the deficit of £500, and leaving a surplus of £150 instead. During the five years of his Mastership the improvement went steadily on; and in 1862 he left the field-money nearly doubled, and the subscriptions augmented by £500 a year. In addition to these sums, he set a-going and worked a special fund of £100 a year for coverts. He steadily exerted his influence with his neighbours towards the making of new coverts at their private cost, or the re-sowing of old ones, and set a vigorous example in the same work on his own estates. More than twenty new coverts

were thus formed during his five years, and at least thirty others rehabilitated. 'In fact,' writes a Kildare gentleman, 'the whole country was re-made during Lord Naas' Mastership, through his personal exertions, and by means of the great enthusiasm which he created among his supporters.' Before he gave up the hounds, in 1862, he had placed the hunt on such a basis as to warrant the expenditure being fixed at £1900 a year, and to enable his successor to hunt seven days a fortnight from the first.

One of his brother sportsmen, well known in County Kildare, has kindly furnished his reminiscences of Lord Naas as M.F.H. The sketch discloses with so charming a vivacity the manner in which Lord Mayo lived and moved among men, that I am tempted to reproduce parts of it in full:—'Lord Naas, during his five years' Mastership, never said or (I believe) thought an unkind thing of any one. He once remarked in a speech at a hunt dinner, that the thing he coveted most was the good opinion and kind feeling of his friends and neighbours. He certainly had it. As Master of the Kildare hounds, he had a good deal against him in his public capacity as a politician, with the farmers and others; but his innate goodness of heart, his thorough love of Ireland and Irishmen, and his wondrous enthusiasm for sport, soon made him loved by all who knew him. There are many farmers who have not hunted since his time, and he made many a man hunt who never thought of it before. He was never once in a field without knowing it ever

afterwards, and how to get out of it. He remembered every fence in the country; and one day, having lost his watch in a run, he next day walked over the ground, part of which he had crossed alone, and found it. He reckoned that the greatest compliment paid to him while Master was by the farmers of the Maynooth country. One of them gave the land, and they all turned out with men and horses, and made a stick covert for him in a single day. Nothing ever gratified him more. But, indeed, there were men in Kildare among all classes who were devoted to him, and with whom he had marvellous influence—men of different religion and of different politics from himself.

‘There is no question that during Lord Naas’ Mastership the Kildare hounds had the finest run they have ever had before or since. They ran from point to point over a country without a ploughed field, nineteen English miles, entering only one covert—gorse. The hounds were never cast, and a horn only sounded on leaving the covert. When hounds could hunt like that, it is needless to say the fox was killed. Lord Naas himself was unable to ride that day, but drove to the meet. It was a glorious hunting day, early in his Mastership, before the country had recovered, and he said: “If we can only find a fox to-day, we will have a run.” The covert was so bad that he walked through it himself with a terrier. The fox had gone away unseen, and so began the run. So savage were the hounds when the fox was killed, and so great their condition, that

the whipper-in could hardly get the fox from them; and when he did, one hound flew at him and tore his arm. The huntsman's horse was the only one that jumped the last fence. Another fine run was that from Battiboy's, about twenty Irish miles from Dublin. The hounds were last heard—for it was too dark to see—close to Belgard, within six Irish miles of Dublin.

'Lord Naas hardly ever missed seeing a run, and could tell more of it, and what the hounds did, than any one. His great weight was much against him, but he could lead over a fence quicker than perhaps any man in the world. Goodall, his huntsman, often told me Lord Naas was the best sportsman he had ever seen. He said he at one time thought he should never see a better than Captain —, with whom he had lived as kennel huntsman and first whip; but that he was mistaken, and that Lord Naas would have been far the better huntsman, as he knew better what hounds did and ought to do. During Lord Naas' last season, when he had a huntsman who fell ill, he hunted the hounds himself for a short time, and killed his fox on a bad scenting day in March, with a cold easterly wind, having run the fox at least fourteen Irish miles. In fact, so persevering was he, that a fox could hardly escape. Lord Naas never missed a day during the cub-hunting, and always began at daybreak, often before. He never returned, if he could help it, until he had killed a fox. Once, when we were bolting a fox at Martinstown, we disturbed a wasp's

nest; all ran but Lord Naas, who stood until the fox bolted, when we had a good gallop, and killed the fox. I believe he was much stung. Lord Naas must have spent, at least a thousand pounds in re-making the country, and the members of the hunt at least two thousand pounds. Lord Naas' horses were not in good condition his first season, and he had an inexperienced groom. In his second season he had probably the best groom in the country, and his horses afterwards looked and went better than anybody else's. Lord Naas drew very late, and was always delighted, when it was very late, if somebody asked him to draw again. He often went to the meet when the country was deep with snow and hard frost; but if it was thawing he always hunted, even with no one out. He never had a very bad fall; and when he had an ordinary one, he never cared. Those who saw him at Downshire jump into a trap filled with water will not easily forget his joyous whoop when we ran to ground, and his fine manly figure and happy face as he scraped the mud off his coat.

'To sum up: Lord Naas took the country in 1857 with poor funds, no coverts, and few foxes. In five years he gave it up with all the coverts restored, full of foxes, and with a balance of money in hand—the subscriptions having increased by £500 a year. The gentlemen of the county are solely indebted to him for the present satisfactory state of the county as a great hunting country. He advocated the admission of members who would not have been

admitted under the old rules, and did much thereby to popularize the Hunt.' The same friend remarks in a private letter: 'We are indebted to Lord Naas for Kildare as it is—for its good sport and good-fellowship.' Perhaps a too enthusiastic estimate of the services of any single man; but Lord Mayo carried so intense & vitality alike into his work and his play, that he was apt to infect with enthusiasm all who came near him.

To return to his public career. As the session of 1868 gradually disintegrated his party, Lord Mayo's difficulties increased. It may well be imagined, therefore, how he began to look forward to the independence held out by the Indian viceroyalty. 'He had but a single regret,' writes a colleague; 'he feared that his appointment would mortify a friend who (he thought) wanted it. I was struck by the manly self-reliance, and at the same time the becoming modesty, of his bearing. How strong he felt himself, and yet how fully he realized the responsibilities and difficulties before him! But the one great feeling which seemed to animate him was joy at being at last free—to do, to think, and to act as he himself found to be wisest. He seemed to me to be like a man who, having been for some time denied the light of the sun, was suddenly brought into the open day. The only expression which could give utterance to all that was passing within him were the two words, "At last."'

The tottering state of the Ministry throughout the session of 1868 strongly directed public criticism to

their having appointed one of themselves to a great office which would not fall in till January 1869. I am not aware whether the nomination was made at a longer interval than usual before the actual vacancy. But the reason of its being intimated early in the autumn was that Lord Mayo desired to visit the chief political centres in India before assuming office, with a view to studying on the spot several large questions then pending. How thoroughly he accomplished his purpose was realized by every one who, during the earlier months of his Viceroyalty, had to discuss those topics—ranging from the Suez Canal to the state of local feeling on certain matters in Bombay and Madras. He came to his work with as much knowledge of the facts of the country as some Governors-General spend a year of office in acquiring. The moment the appointment was made, and while still in England, he threw himself into his new destiny. He denied his heart its last wish to spend the remaining weeks in Ireland; attended the India Office at all hours; held daily consultations with the leading Indian authorities; toiled till late in the night on the documents with which they supplied him; and employed those about him in collecting books and papers bearing upon India.

To the public, however, it seemed doubtful whether the Conservatives would be in power when the Indian Viceroyalty actually demitted; and, as a matter of fact, they had resigned before that event took place. Nor had Lord Mayo's Parliamentary appearances been sufficiently commanding in the eyes of the

English Press to secure him from personal criticism. With the exception of a very few speeches on India, China, and Australia, he had confined himself entirely to Irish business. He had displayed no great amount either of interest or of knowledge in the current subjects of English politics. His one specialty was Ireland, and it was a specialty which at that time neither attracted the sympathy nor won the applause of the English public. Indeed, except on rare occasions, an Irish debate was until ten years ago an affair of empty benches—pretty much as an Indian debate, except at moments of special excitement, is at present. The statesman who had filled the chief Parliamentary office for Ireland on each occasion that his party came into power during twenty years was less known to the English public than many a young speaker, sitting for his first time on the Treasury benches.

A tempest of censure accordingly arose in the Press, and spent its fury with equal force on Lord Mayo's colleagues and on himself. Some of the criticisms of those days read, by the light of later experience, as truly astonishing products of English party spirit. But it is only fair to add, that the very papers which were most bitter against his appointment afterwards came forward most heartily in his praise. In that outburst of the English sense of justice which followed his death, our national journal of humour stood first in its generous acknowledgment of his real desert, as it had done in the dropping fire of raillery three years before:—

- ‘We took his gauge, as did the common fool,
By Report’s shallow valuing appraised,
When from the Irish Secretary’s stool
To the great Indian throne we saw him raised.
- ‘They gauged him better, those who knew him best ;
They read, beneath that bright and blithesome cheer,
The Statesman’s wide and watchful eye, the breast
Unwarped by favour and unwrung by fear.
- ‘The wit to choose, the will to do, the right ;
All the more potent for the cheerful mood
That made the irksome yoke of duty light,
Helping to smooth the rough, refine the rude.
- ‘Nor for this cheeriness less strenuous shown,
All ear, all eye, he swayed his mighty realm ;
Till through its length and breadth a presence known,
Felt as a living hand upon the helm.
- ‘All men spoke well of him, as most men thought,
Here as in India, and his friends were proud ;
It seemed as if no enmity he wrought,
But moved love-girt, at home or in the crowd.
- ‘If true regret and true respect have balm
For hearts that more than public loss must mourn,
They join to crown this forehead, cold and calm,
With laurel well won as was ever worn ;
- ‘Only the greener that ’twas late to grow,
And that by sudden blight its leaves are shed ;
Then with thy honoured freight, sail sad and slow,
O ship, that bears him to his kindred dead.’¹

Lord Mayo felt the hostility of the Liberal journals the more keenly, as in Irish matters (his real business in life) he had been half a Liberal himself. But as usual his vexation was less for himself than for the Ministry which stood publicly responsible for the appointment. ‘I am sorely hurt,’ he wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote, ‘at the way in which the Press

¹ *Punch*, February 24, 1872.

are abusing my appointment. I care little for myself, but I am not without apprehension that these attacks may damage the Government, and injure my influence if ever I arrive in India. I am made uneasy, but not daunted.' Again: 'I did not accept this great office without long and anxious consideration. I leave with a good confidence, and hope that I may realize the expectations of my friends. I was prepared for hostile criticism, but I thought that my long public service might have saved me from the personal abuse which has been showered upon me. I bear no resentment, and only pray that I may be enabled ere long to show my abusers that they were wrong.' Rancour or revenge never for a moment found lodgment in that well-poised mind. In October 1868, while quivering under partisan attacks, he dictated the following words in his Will:— 'I desire that nothing may be published at my death which is calculated to wound or to annoy any living being—even those who have endeavoured by slander and malignity to injure and insult me.' To another friend he writes, with the pleasing mixture of modesty and self-reliance which marked his letters at all times, but especially at this crisis: 'I know India is a "big thing," but I am not afraid of it, and feel confident that, if I get there in health and strength, I can with God's help show these bitter scribblers that they are wrong. Indian experience is very valuable. But I believe that twenty years of the House of Commons, five years of labour in the most difficult of offices, with two in the Cabinet, form

as good training as a man could have for the work.' In his public appearances he presented his usual bold front to hostile opinion. 'Splendid as is the post,' he said to his constituents at Cockermouth, 'and difficult as will be my duties,' I go forth in full confidence and hope that God will give me such strength and wisdom as will enable me to direct the Government of India in the interests, and for the well-being, of the millions committed to our care. In the performance of the great task I ask for no favour. Let me be judged according to my acts. And I know that efforts honestly made for the maintenance of our national honour, for the spread of civilisation, and the preservation of peace, will always command the sympathy and support of my countrymen.'

During this trying time Lord Mayo derived much comfort from the steadfast friendliness of Mr. Disraeli. Afterwards, when looking back from the calm level of accomplished success which he reached in India, his memory retained no sense of bitterness towards his opponents, but, simply a feeling of gratitude for the unwavering courage and constancy of his leader. Mr. Disraeli had chosen his man, and he supported him in the face of an unfounded but a very inconvenient clamour. The Indian official mind is perhaps apt to place an excessive value on thus showing an immovable front. For this form of loyalty stands conspicuous among the qualities by which the higher class of Indian statesmen weld together a school of administrators, and secure perpetuity and continuous

vitality for their policy, notwithstanding the flux of Indian official life. Lord Mayo was a viceroy who expected the utmost exertion which each man about him was capable of. But he never forgot how his own leader had stood by him in the hour of need. He conscientiously judged his men by their actual work, silently putting aside the praise or dispraise of persons not competent to speak, and penetrating his officers with a belief that, so long as they merited his support, no outside influences or complications would ever lead to its being withdrawn. On a somewhat crucial occasion he quietly said: 'I once asked Mr. Disraeli whether newspaper abuse was injurious to a public man. He answered: "It may retard the advancement of a young man, starting in life and untried. But it is harmless after a man has become known; and if unjust, it is in the long-run beneficial."' "

In October he ran over to Ireland, and wandered in pathetic silence among the scenes of his boyhood. Hayes had its childish memories—the long train of loved familiar figures, headed by the father and mother, both of whom he had, within the past twenty months, committed to the grave. Palmers-town had also recollections of a tender sort—of the grand-uncle who had done so much for him in youth, and of the twenty years of married happiness which he had spent beneath its roof. The day before he left these scenes for ever, he chose a shady spot in a quiet little churchyard on his Kildare estates, and begged that, if he never re-

turned, he might be brought home and laid there. '13th October,' says the brief entry in his Journal—'Left Palmerstown amid tears and wailing, much leave-taking and great sorrow.' The night of his departure from London was even more trying. The loving ties of the old Hayes life had known no loosening in manhood; and throughout his official career, whether in Ireland, or in England, or in India, one brother or other always stood at his right hand. He had clung to his family to the last moment, and he now wrenched himself away from the assembled group of children, and brothers, and best beloved sister—almost as if he were never to see them again.

CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGE OUT, AND FIRST EXPERIENCES OF INDIA.

[1868-69. *Æt.* 46.]

DURING the past twenty years, Lord Mayo had worked hard as a Parliamentary leader of the Irish Conservatives. The few years that remained to him were to be given to cares of a more splendid and more onerous sort. But between these two periods, from October 1868 to January 1869, came a brief release from public duties. The present chapter will deal with these intermediate months. Lord Mayo for the first time in his adult life found himself a free man, and it may throw some light on his character to see in what sense he interpreted his liberty. I here avail myself of a class of materials of which I shall afterwards think it right to make but a sparing use. Lord Mayo left behind him a diary of the last few years of his life. Its pages record very hastily and simply the actual work of the day, with few expressions of opinion. In looking through them, I have come across friendly notices and appreciative remarks about many people, but not one unkind word. If he formed an unfavourable opinion of any man, he did not put it down in a book. Nevertheless, I

question whether Lord Mayo would have allowed his private views on public matters, when Viceroy, to go forth to the world. In India he kept his private and his public life most carefully distinct. At his table no questions of Indian politics were discussed, nor did he permit the slightest allusion to the character or views of Indian public men.

I shall hold myself bound to observe this rule as regards the use which I make of his private diary. The Viceroy is the leading member of the Indian Government, but he is only one of several members. Lord Mayo used to fight hard officially for his views, and, as a matter of fact, he got more of his own way than most Governors-General have done. But he was essentially loyal to his colleagues, and upon all points on which they beat him or on which he once yielded, he forthwith accepted the joint action of Government as his own. He thought it both bad policy and bad faith that any private divergence should appear between the Viceroy and his councillors. While, therefore, in treating of Lord Mayo's Indian career, I shall freely use such expressions of opinion as he thought fit to officially place on record, I shall not consider it proper to quote entries in a diary which he never intended for the public eye.

But until he actually entered on his office these entries have a merely personal interest. They disclose the spirit in which he lived and worked. I have said that once he had resolved on India he vigorously set about the study of his new duties. He tore himself away from his estates in the middle of October,

and gave up his last month to deputations and dry details in the India Office. Almost every question of Indian administration passed in some form or other under his review. Here are a few extracts showing how he employed the first month of release from political life which had come to him during twenty years. Where the names of private persons are mentioned, I confine myself to giving their initials. The square brackets indicate explanatory insertions of my own.

Tuesday, 20th October 1868.—'Major Lees called: had a long talk on Indian matters. Afterwards went to the India Office, and had a long discussion with Arbuthnot and Sir B. Frere. The latter spoke very frankly on the neglect of the promotion of railways, and the extremely dangerous state of the army organization. He spoke strongly on the state of the North-Western frontier, and contrasted the excellent system pursued by [Generals] Jacob and Green on the Sind frontier. Discussed the results occasioned by the stoppage of the irrigation works.' . . .

Wednesday, 21st October.—'Mr. D. came. A long talk on railway matters. He is in favour of maintaining the principle of private enterprise, combined with the guarantee system: does not think favourably of exclusive Government management. Major Chesney also came: discussed the subject of gaols, then the partial decentralization of Indian finance. He is averse to the cell system [in Indian gaols], and says it is impossible in that climate.' He thinks that the labour of prisoners might be much more utilized, and that many reforms can be carried out. Saw Beach at

the Home Office. Went down to the India Office. Sir Henry Green and Colonel G. called—the former a splendid fellow, and a regular Warden of the Marches, who has kept his frontier in peace for twenty years. He thinks with Sir B. Frere that the burning of villages and crops, which takes place [as reprisals] on the Afghán frontier, is impolitic. His plan is colonization and disarmament. He has large numbers of the wild tribes living at peace within our frontier. He allows no man to cross our line without leaving his gun behind him.' . . .

The 23d October.—‘Captain W. came. He tells me that they are sending out to India machinery for the manufacture of Snider ammunition at once, and that natives are to be employed in the factories in the three Presidencies.’ . . .

The 25th October.—‘Dined with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House: all the Royalties, Duchess of Newcastle, Clarendons, etc. etc. there.’ . . .

The 26th October may serve as a specimen of one day’s work in detail.—‘Mr. Massey [formerly Finance Minister of India] called here this morning. Had a long and interesting conversation with him on the subject of Indian finance. He takes, on the whole, a very sanguine view of the future, and is strongly in favour of what is called decentralization, to a certain extent. He says the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, with the exception of Lord Napier at Madras, are in favour of it. Sir John Lawrence and most of the [Governor-General’s] Council against it. [It should be remembered that Mr. Massey left India

early in 1868, before the measure to which he alludes had been fully considered by Sir John Lawrence and his Council.] He thinks that after provision is made from the revenues for all charges of an Imperial nature, the administration of the remainder, which is to be expended on civil charges (such as Public Works), and all matters of a local character, should be left to the Provincial Governments. He says the demands made by these Governments now are in some instances almost reckless,—their object being to withdraw the largest possible sum from the Imperial Treasury,—and that they have no direct interest in the economical expenditure of the money. He thinks that it would be impossible, without great danger, to re-impose the income tax in India; but is strongly in favour of the new tax upon trades and professions, which he apprehends will by and by be very fruitful. He agreed with me completely in my ideas of attracting native capital into the Government operations, which he thinks might be done by a system of debenture loans of small amounts—even to so low a sum as ten rupees. He says that natives will not lend to private companies, but are willing to entrust large sums to Government. He is strongly in favour of new lines of railway being made under Government management, and thinks that the guarantee system—though perhaps necessary at the outset—is expensive and dangerous. He thinks, with regard to the three great irrigation schemes, that it would be desirable, if possible, to make such an arrangement that the Company who have undertaken the Soane and Orissa

prospects should be enabled to go on with the Orissa plan, and leave the Soane to be undertaken by Government. He strongly advises that in the Financial Statement a statement should be made of the details of military expenditure. He says that, when he brought forward the Budget, he was able to give the details of the whole of the public expenditure, except the fourteen millions which constituted the military charges; and he recommends that either the Commander-in-Chief or the Military Member of Council should make an annual statement, similar to that which is made by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons. He favours very much the plan that the Financial and Legal Members of Council should be appointed from home. He thinks the expenditure on the barracks has been unnecessarily great, and doubts very much whether the new barracks are placed in favourable positions with regard to the new railways. He told me on parting that I had been most unjustly attacked.'

'Mr. Andrews, Chairman of the Sind Railway, called. I had a very long talk with him on railway matters. He is much interested in the Euphrates Valley line, and also in the Indus Railway. He says the main point to be decided is, whether the southern part of the line is to take the right or left bank of the river. He is in favour of the right bank as far as Sākar (Sukkur); there to cross the Indus, and ascend the left bank. The advantage is, that if a railway is eventually made to the Bolan Pass, it will avoid the necessity of bridging the Indus twice. He says

that, in a military point of view, the left bank is agreed to be the best, and that there is no difficulty for troops to cross at any point on the river with the assistance of steamers. He is of opinion that the line will eventually be a very paying concern, as the harbour of Karáchi, when finished, will be a great depot for European trade for the north-western portion of India ; and the exports both of cotton and oilseeds are expected to be very large. He thinks we may hope eventually to draw a considerable portion of the trade of Central Asia into India by means of this line. He is, of course, in favour of its being done through the medium of the Sind Railway Company, and thinks that the lines from Delhi to Lahor, and from Lahor to Marang, should also be placed in the hands of the same Company. Proceedings are now being taken for the amalgamation of the Delhi and Panjáb Companies. He says the communication by means of the Indus flotilla is very unsatisfactory—an average of twenty-four days being occupied between Karáchi and Múltán. Great uncertainty exists as to time ; accidents often occur, and steamers are occasionally “snagged” or stranded upon sandbanks. He says that carriage by common country vessels is unsafe, and merchants who deal largely in the seed trade complain of the great losses they have experienced, owing to the imperfect construction of these vessels. Frequently they are so badly built, that they are broken up on their arrival at Karáchi, being not worth taking back. He admits that the cost of Indian lines has hitherto been very great,

and that the guarantee system leads occasionally to extravagance. He says that the delays in the matter of the harbour of Karáchi are most provoking; that the matter has been smothered in reports and papers; that now there is really no substantial reason why the thing is not undertaken; and that the system of sending back reports upon matters of minor detail has in this case been most disastrous. He seems very keen about the Euphrates Valley Railway, and told me a curious story. He said that the death of the project seemed to date from the ——'s visit to England some years ago. The ——, being incensed at the course taken by Palmerston in the case of the Suez Canal, insisted that if we intended to oppose the Egyptian project, we should not embark in the Euphrates Valley scheme. He says that the favour shown to the affair by the Government up to that time suddenly disappeared, and nothing has been done since. He admitted that the opening of the Canal, and the probable success of the undertaking, might have a serious effect upon the goods traffic; but still he imagines that there will be sufficient passenger communication to make it pay. I told him that I felt certain the railway could never be carried on without the guarantee system, and I doubted very much whether either the English Government or the Indian were prepared to sanction the system for undertakings in foreign countries. The whole of the Euphrates Valley line would pass through the Turkish Empire, and so far there would be only one Government to deal with. The objections

to the scheme are so manifest, that he seemed to think that at present there was little hope of overcoming them.

‘After he went away, Sir Arthur Cotton came, with whom I had a most interesting conversation for two hours and a half on the subject of irrigation. His broad statement is, that not only are new works not undertaken, but that some of the works which we have ourselves constructed are gradually going out of repair. He says the first remedy for all these evils is to separate the irrigation accounts from the Imperial revenues—that is to say, that irrigation should be a separate financial operation altogether, and that the fiscal machinery for irrigation should be conducted and the assessment levied on its own basis, and kept clear of the Imperial revenue accounts. I went very fully with him into the principles of the Land Improvement Acts, and he agreed with me that such great works should be conducted on these principles only, and that until they are adopted there can be little hope of success. He disapproves entirely of the mode in which the Ganges Canal and the works in Upper India are conducted, and says that we ought to have known the advantages of the Madras or lower system, as compared with the banking up of the higher waters, because for centuries this system has been in operation in Southern India. He is very much in favour of the system of inspecting works, as against the system of reporting, and says that it very often happens that the man who writes the worst report is the best officer. I suggested that a plan with regard to irrigation works

might be adopted somewhat similar to that suggested by Lord Dalhousie for railways in England, and which has been carried out to a great extent in India—namely, that the country should be laid out in irrigation districts; that the plans should be settled and determined on; and that, whether they were to be carried out by Government agency or by private enterprise, these plans should be worked up to and not deviated from; finally, that the accounts and the organization of the said irrigation districts should be perfectly separate one from another, subject only to central control for the purpose of enforcing a uniformity of system. He seemed to approve of proceeding on these principles, but appeared to think that the deadweight of official influence in India would be very much against their introduction. He appears to be somewhat of a fanatic for water, as he broadly stated his opinion that water carriage and communication were more suited for Indian wants than railways. He says that even now we may look for great results from the Godávari navigation works. He viewed with favour a proposal for the establishment of a model farm, made by a man who had been working in the Godávari country as a farmer, and leading the life of an ordinary *rayat* (husbandman). But he says that, if model farms are to be established, they ought to be placed under the superintendence of such men as these, and not under men sent out from England. He says that one great advantage of getting wood and coal to these districts would be that the manure, which is now used by the people for the purpose of

fuel, would be placed on the land. The effects of irrigation are so marvellous, and the soil is so rich, that it appears inexhaustible; and for centuries the same land has produced crops under the sole influence of water. But he is of opinion that manure would have the effect of adding considerably to the produce of the land, and its being consumed as fuel is a great loss to the country. He says there is a great amount of native engineering talent that can be made available; that certain *anicuts* and other works, constructed entirely under the direction of natives, have proved equal to those done under the care of our own engineers.

‘After he went away, Mr. M. came, with whom I had a long talk, principally upon social matters in Calcutta. He forms, apparently, a very low estimate of the Bengali character, and gave me some interesting details of the Mutiny. He is strongly in favour of the influence of hospitality.’

Tuesday, 27th October.—‘Went down to Shoeburyness, with [brother] Eddy and Burne [Lord Mayo’s private secretary], to see the Moncrieff gun, or rather the gun-carriage. The carriage is a wonderful invention, and must, I think, create a great change in the whole system of fortifications. It worked with the greatest ease; and though it has been fired some hundreds of times, there is no strain whatever upon the machinery. Colonel Eldwin, the officer in command, showed us the various objects of interest, with the Plymouth and Achilles shields. They also made some practice with 12-inch guns. I see no reason why the Moncrieff gun should not be placed

upon a traversing railway, and driven along inside a parapet, so that the attacking party would never know where the shots came from. The exposure of the gun ought not to be more than six or seven seconds, so that it is almost invulnerable, except from vertical fire. The chances of hitting a hole in the ground of twelve feet square from a mortar are so remote, that I was told they once fired 180 shots at Plymouth at an aperture the size of the cavity on which the Moncrieff gun rests, and only struck it once—and this with the best artillerymen perhaps in Europe, and with a stationary mortar.'

Saturday, 31st October.—'Received a deputation from the Christian Vernacular Society, who came to press the claims of their Association. They say they are performing a considerable work in India, and appear to wish for some further assistance from Government; but I believe that, under the present rules, they have obtained nearly everything they desire. Afterwards to the Horse Guards. Had a long conversation with His Royal Highness, Colonel Johnson, Generals Pears and Gambier, and General Baker, on the subject of the ordnance of India, the organization of the army, and the Snider rifle. I hope that the first point is settled, and that the muzzle-loader [gun] will now be supplied to the artillery in India. Afterwards, Cabinet.'

Monday, 2d November.—'Went down to — to shoot. Killed 150 pheasants, 10 hares, and 9 rabbits.'

Thursday, 5th November.—'Sir H. Rawlinson called, with whom I had a long talk on the Central

Asia question. He is strongly in favour of a small naval force in the Gulf, and would like to see the restoration of the old [Indian] arrangement about the Persian Embassy; but in default of that, he would like to see Indian officers employed more freely in diplomatic duties in Persia. He thinks that the restoration of friendly arrangements with Afghanistan will not be a question of any great difficulty, and believes that we might easily show the new ruler of that country that we could befriend him in a more substantial manner than the Russians. He looks to a rapid alteration in railway operations in those parts, and believes that they intend to make the river Oxus their base. By the railway from the Caspian Sea to the Ural Mountains, and a line of steamers from the Jaxartes to the Oxus, stores and men can be transmitted from Europe with very great rapidity. I then walked down to the India Office, where I received in succession Captain Spry, who is very anxious about opening a route into China from Rangoon. He brought his maps, and I went into the whole plan with him. Afterwards came Mr. Clive Bayley, Home Secretary to the Government of India. We talked over matters of internal policy,—prisons, police, etc., and the system of their administration. After him came Mr. Ashworth of Manchester, on the part of the Coffee Supply Association. We had a most interesting conversation on cultivation and communications. I showed him many ways in which I believed interior communication could be improved; and he thought highly of my idea about

branch lines. He said that the question of seed was a matter upon which there was a great difference of opinion. He was very anxious that an improved mode of cultivation should be suggested to the people, and that a little model farm should be attached to each of the district schools. After him came Sir Robert Montgomery, with whom I discussed the affairs of the Panjáb. He is a great admirer of Sir Donald M'Leod, and highly approved of my idea of Irrigation Boards for the various districts, in which the sympathies and exertions of the natives could be enlisted. He says in the Panjáb, there would be no difficulty in getting them to act heartily in the different irrigation systems. I then sent for General Pears. Discussed with him the artillery question and the organization of the army. He is strongly in favour of trying the present system some time longer, and sees great danger in a change. He thinks that many of the evils which now appear will disappear when the old officers retire; and we cannot look to a real carrying out of the new system until the officers who are coming into the service now rise to higher grades. Sir Erskine Perry afterwards came. I then left. Went and had a long talk with the Duke of Abercorn, Edward Taylor, and Colonel Patten, upon Irish matters.'

Friday, 6th November.—'Breakfasted at the India Office. A large party. Sat between Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Henry Durand. After breakfast, had a long conversation in Northcote's room in reference to the necessity of a naval force in the

Persian Gulf. We settled that there would be no difficulty in meeting the views of the Admiralty, and proposing to them that they should establish two or three small ships for that service, with headquarters at Bombay, and commanded by officers specially trained for the peculiar duties which they will have to perform. Afterwards came home; and at four o'clock went to bid the Duke of Cambridge good-bye. Had a long talk with him on Indian military affairs. He is very anxious that the number of military men employed on civil duty in India should not be decreased. He also spoke as to the necessity of forming two cadres of artillery brigades, in order to include in these two bodies all the artillery officers not serving with the guns. By this means the batteries will be better officered, and rendered more efficient. I pressed upon him the desirability of devising, if possible, some means of retirement for the large number of inefficient officers who are connected with the army in India, in order to make room for young and active men. He seemed to agree with me that it was a most difficult question, and that it would be impossible to offer a premium to old and idle men which he did not also offer to active and energetic men. Spoke to Northcote privately on the subject of the Press. He agreed with me as to the objections that exist to the immediate establishment of a powerful Government organ, the difficulty there would be in controlling an inspired one, and the risk that would be incurred in raising hostile feelings on the part of the rest of the Press.'

Saturday, 7th November.—‘Went down to Windsor with Disraeli, Duke of Marlboro’, Taylor, and Wilson Patten. Had an audience with the Queen, and Her Majesty informed me that she had made me an extra Knight of St. Patrick, which surprised me very much, as I had no idea such a thing had been in contemplation. Drove to Downing Street with Disraeli, who wished me good-bye.’

Sunday, 8th November.—‘Sir George Clerk [formerly Governor of Bombay] called. Had a long conversation with him upon affairs relating to Bombay, especially the Indus Valley Line, and the opening up of the cotton districts.’

Monday, 9th November.—‘General Balfour called to-day. We discussed at great length the organization of the Indian army. He says he is perfectly convinced, that by attention and care the military estimates could be reduced by at least two millions—that is to say, down to the sum at which they were placed by Mr. Wilson. He said there was no increase in the number of men, or in the other expenses of the army, that would justify the rise that has taken place in the estimates. He advocates very much the restoration of the old Military Finance Commission [of which General Balfour had been head], or a body similar to it, which would stand in relation to the Military Department of the Government somewhat in the same position that the War Office does to the Horse Guards. He was always an opponent of the new system of the organization of the army, and agrees with Sir W. Mansfield that the number of officers

now serving with each battalion in the native army is too few. He is quite aware of all the evils of stagnation, and of the expense of numbers of old and inefficient officers now in India; but thinks that the only mode in which that evil could be met would be by the immediate appointment of a large number of general officers, with a view to their retirement. He thinks it would be very desirable to get up the military element as much as possible in the different services, and that a great difficulty is likely to arise hereafter in that respect.'

Tuesday, 10th November. — 'Went to wish the Prince of Wales good-bye. He was very kind, and expressed great regret that he was not coming to India as well as his brother. Went down to the India Office with Sir B. Frere, Sir Henry Montgomery, and General Baker, to bid Northcote [the Secretary of State] good-bye. Had a long conversation with him on several points. • Left London at 8.30 P.M. When we got to Dover, we found that the vessel could not sail till the morning, so we determined to remain there all night.'

The busy days at the India Office were over. On Wednesday, the 11th November 1868, Lord Mayo looked for his last time on the Dover cliffs, and reached Paris the same night. The delicious repose of the voyage to India lay before him; his time was still his own, and he resolved to see everything on the way that could shed light on his new duties. Among other matters, the neglected state of the Indian Records had been pressed upon him at the India Office,

and in a then recently published work. With the richest and most lifelike materials for making known the facts of their rule, the English in India still lie at the mercy of every European defamer. Their history—that great story of tenderness to pre-existing rights, and of an ever-present sense of responsibility to the people—is told as a mere romance of military prowess and government by the sword. When Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Mayo had introduced and passed the Act on which the whole Irish Record Department subsists. To that end he had personally studied the method adopted in England, and deputed his friend, Sir Bernard Burke, to report on the French system. His attention being now directed to the neglected state of the Indian Records, and the necessity for some plan for conserving them and rendering them available for historical research, he resolved to examine the Paris Department with his own eyes. ‘Went to the Archives,’ says his diary of the 14th November, ‘and was received by the Director, who showed us all through the rooms. They are in magnificent order, and are situated in the old Hotel Soubise, with a museum of curious letters and documents for the amusement of the public, divided into the different epochs of the Ancient Kings, the Middle Ages, the Republic, the Empire, and the Monarchy after the peace. The republican documents are kept in *cartons* which now number upwards of sixty thousand. The arrangement is simple, and access easy. There is a reading-room for the public downstairs, but small, and the facilities given do not appear

to be very great. It is within the power of the Director to refuse access to any document, if he sees fit. There is an enormous safe for the most valuable documents, such as Napoleon's Will, and the last letters of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette; also a secret drawer containing letters of some of the kings of France, which are not allowed to be seen by any one. There does not seem to be any calendaring going on for the purposes of publication, beyond fac-similes of curious documents. The use to the public appears to me doubtful, though the arrangement and condition of the papers are as perfect as anything can be. The Foreign Department do not send down their Records, but the other Departments do—some as late as 1857.' It is pleasant to think that amid his inquiries into all matters bearing on his new work, he found time for a rush through the pictures which his mother had taught him to love thirty years before, and to hear once again the voice of Patti in the *Sornamebula*.

The feeling of rest, which is the unspeakable charm of the Indian journey to a busy man, had descended on him. He found every hotel good, and his whole route beautiful, as the fragmentary entries in his diary attest. He gave up his last evening in Paris to a dinner at the Café Anglais, finishing with the Théâtre Bouffes. On his way south he stopped at St. Michel to see an eminent engineer who had Indian experience of a special sort. The train came in late, and it was not till after dinner that Lord Mayo could get to business. According to his invariable practice when dealing with projectors, his journal merely records

what they said to him, without any expression of his own views, or of how far he accepted their statements.

Monday, 16th November. — ‘Sent for Mr. — after dinner, and had a long talk with him about the Calcutta and Mātlah Railway, of which he was one of the original promoters, and on which he was employed as engineer. He has still the utmost confidence in the place, and cannot believe the stories about the shifting nature of the Mātlah channel. He says that the cyclone [and tidal wave] which caused so much damage, and the exposure to the recurrence of which is alleged as an argument against Port Canning, did not come directly in from the sea, but ran up one of the other channel mouths of the Ganges, and came down on Mātlah from the north. He says this was principally owing to the embankments having been neglected and allowed to go out of repair by Government. He says he is convinced that if Mātlah was allowed to be a seaport for five years, numbers of people would be found to undertake the necessary works for landing the goods there. He also described a plan that he has suggested for making a tunnel under the Hūgli (Hooghly) at Calcutta. He proposes to make a large hollow beam, sufficient to carry two lines of railway and a carriage road. This he would construct on the bank, and, after scooping a trench in the middle of the river by dredges, for which he says the soil is particularly favourable, he would float this immense tube into its place, and sink it. He would then pump the water out from the

different compartments, and fill up the spaces between the arch of the tunnel and the sides of the tube with brick, thereby creating sufficient weight to keep it at the bottom. The whole thing, he thinks, could be done for £700,000, and would form a junction between the present goods station at Howrah and the junction of the Port Canning and Eastern Bengal railways. His idea is that great advantages must accrue, because it would not necessitate the purchase of any large quantity of ground for a new goods station at Calcutta.'

Tuesday, 17th November.—'Started by special train for the mouth of the Mont Cenis tunnel. We were received by the chief engineer, who took us about a mile and a half into the tunnel in a carriage drawn by a horse. We were anxious to get to the end, but having arrived within a hundred and fifty yards of it, we found the smoke was so great, in consequence of there having been fifteen or twenty blasts let off just before we arrived, that the perforating machine which we were anxious to see could not be set a-going for nearly an hour, and this would have detained us till very late in the mountain. There were about six hundred men at work in the tunnel, all engaged in boring for blasts. The operations appear to be carried on with great spirit and energy, and there seems little doubt that they will be completed in two years and a half or three years, two-thirds being already finished. The ventilation is conducted by means of pipes, through which the air is forced in large quantities from reservoirs outside. It is expected, however, that when the work is completed,

the natural current of air will be sufficient. The chief engineer expressed great disappointment that we could not see the perforating machines. However, when we came out, we went to a workshop and inspected some of the smaller ones in operation. They are very ingenious, being worked by compressed air, and they bore the holes for the blasts with great rapidity. There is a very large establishment at the mouth of the tunnel, with a complete organization for the community,—police, fire-brigade, infirmaries, etc. The workmen are almost all Italians, and have been engaged in mining operations in Italy. They are remarkably fine, healthy-looking men, and appear to work very hard.' Then follows an account of Mr. Fell's temporary railway across Mont Cenis, with a note on the 'Central Rail System.'

On the way to Ancona, 'we discovered that the whole of our luggage, having been marked wrong, had gone on to Florence.' Arrived at Ancona at 8 P.M., without anything except our despatch boxes; but, by telegraphic exertions and a special messenger, recovered eighteen out of the twenty-one missing packages next day.

Brindisi, Saturday, 21st November.—'Arrived this morning about 12, when the Consul and Mr. Grant met us and accompanied us on board ship [Her Majesty's ship *Psyche*, placed at Lord Mayo's disposal for the passage to Alexandria]. The Consul gave a miserable account of the state of the country. It is extremely fertile, but the people are so lazy and the malaria is so bad that they do very little. They

shut up all their shops after dinner at 1 o'clock, and go to bed for three hours. He says they are not satisfied with the present *régime*, and would gladly see it replaced by the Bourbons who left them more to themselves, did not try to improve them, and taxed them very little. The filth of Brindisi was beyond anything I ever saw, and the inhabitants are constantly afflicted with fevers. The harbour, however, seems quite good enough for the departure of the Indian mails, and is at present being dredged. If Mr. Fell's railway across Mont Cenis can be kept open during the winter, I do not see why those mails should not be sent from here forthwith.'

Cephalonia, Sunday, 22d November.—'On getting up this morning, found ourselves in the harbour of Argostali in Cephalonia, which is very pretty, being landlocked on all sides and large enough to hold the whole English fleet. After breakfast the captain read prayers. Sir John Sebright, the Consul, came on board, and gave us a dreadful account of the earthquake two years ago, which threw down the greater part of the town and almost all the villages around. He said the sufferings of the people were dreadful, about fifty being killed outright and three hundred wounded. The windmills being all broken there was no means of making flour, and the inhabitants were nearly starved until the *Enterprise* frigate came in with a supply of food. Numbers of people were left with their legs and arms broken for nearly a fortnight without any medical assistance. The Consul told us that the inhabitants are much

dissatisfied with the Greek rule, and that the Ionians would now be very glad to get back under the English protection, which (when they had it) they were always abusing. He says they are very heavily taxed; and as there is no proper customs service, almost everything is smuggled, and so the revenue has fallen far short of what we used to raise without difficulty. The country seems very barren, and much of it is covered with rocks and a sort of prickly furze and dwarf ilex. The hot weather being now over the grass and flowers are beginning to appear, and Sir John Sebright informed us that in a few days the whole landscape will be one mass of flowers. We went ashore and saw a curious mill which is worked by water. The water is let off into a hole in the ground, and disappears through a fissure in the rock, and goes—no one knows where. Took a carriage and drove twelve miles across the hills, till we came within view of Zante, on the other side. We brought the carriage down a place which looked like the bed of a torrent, through a village; and nothing could be more picturesque than the houses with their little gardens of orange trees, beautiful specimens of the Italian pine, aloes and cactuses, vineyards and olive-gardens. The people were nicely dressed and seemed to be pretty well off. We did not get back to the ship till after dark. The splendid road which was made by us, when ~~here~~ is rapidly going out of repair, and will in a year or two be almost impassable.'

Alexandria, Thursday, 26th November.—'At 8 o'clock the Viceroy's boat of eighteen oars, with the

Governor and Ismail Bey, came alongside and took us to the railway station, where we found a special train waiting for us. They fired a salute for us as we left the vessel. When we landed we found ourselves really in the East, and everything totally different from anything we had seen before. We came on at once by special train to Cairo; Ismail Bey, in the carriage with us, explaining everything to us as we went along. We passed through a flat country of amazing fertility—in fact, of unlimited resource as long as the water lasts. It exists entirely by irrigation. The little villages, looking like clusters of inverted beehives, the half-naked men, the women with their veiled faces, camels carrying heavy loads along the banks of the canals, men riding on donkeys, the plough we read of in Scripture working in the fields and drawn by two bullocks, the old wheels for irrigation, and the men filling the little trenches from the canal,—all made a scene which we had often read of but never witnessed. We stopped at a station close to a bridge across the Nile, and had some refreshment. Came on to Cairo, making the journey in about three hours and a half. At Cairo we found the Viceroy's carriage waiting for us, and were conveyed to a palace which it appears was only purchased three days ago, and for which I am informed the Pasha has given £14,000. Our arrival proved somewhat sooner than had been expected, and I was told they only began furnishing the palace late last night; however, it is very comfortable. At three I went to pay a visit to the Viceroy, accompanied by Stanton [the Consul-General], Burne [Major Owen

Burne, Lord Mayo's Private Secretary], Eddy [Major the Honourable Edward Roden Bourke, his Military Secretary], and Ismail Bey. The Viceroy is a small fat man about 43 years of age, but looking a great deal older. He received me with great civility and I had a long talk with him on various matters. He speaks French well, and appeared anxious as to the maintenance of peace in Europe. He spoke very highly of his reception in London last year. Coffee was brought in and the usual pipe followed. After I got back to our palace, the Viceroy returned my visit. He remained for about twenty minutes, and the conversation took somewhat the same turn as before.'

Cairo, Friday, 27th November.—'Left our palace a little before nine for the Pyramids. The Viceroy placed a steamer on the Nile at our disposal, and also gave us carriages and horses to convey us from the place where the steamer stopped to the Pyramids and back. While we were waiting for Lord Napier at the palace on the bank of the Nile, the Viceroy's little boy, ten years old, came on board. He is an intelligent child, and was attended by Dr. Zohrab who has been for many years attached to the mission at Constantinople, and who is, I believe, a British subject. Meanwhile our steamer was obliged to move on, in order to make way for another vessel to take out the *haram* of the Viceroy for an excursion on the river. Soon some carriages drove up, and a number of ladies in long silk dresses, with their faces closely veiled, walked down the steps and went on board the steamer, taking our friend the little Prince with them.

We went a short way up the Nile on board the steamer, and then arrived at another palace belonging to the Viceroy, where carriages and horses awaited us. I got on a very fiery little Arab belonging to the Minister of War, with a French saddle, large holsters, and embroidered saddle-cloth. The girths were so loose, and the saddle was so high on the horse and so badly made, that I was very near tumbling off. However, I dismounted and tightened the girths, and afterwards got on very well. Lord Napier was not so fortunate, for as soon as he got on, his horse turned round sharp, and ~~he~~ rolled off on the road, but was not hurt. We then rode forward by an old causeway which passes through a fertile country, now under water from the inundation of the Nile, and crossed one of the canals by a bridge, which had only been finished during the night for our use. A large number of Fellahs were still working at it. Several men were walking about among them with long sticks, the application of which seemed to be administered very frequently.

‘We arrived at the Pyramids after two hours’ ride. They were exactly what I expected them to be. We immediately proceeded to climb up to the top. I was assisted by four Arabs, two of whom pulled me in front while the other two pushed behind. We went up easily in a quarter of an hour. The view from the top is very fine, and as a delightful breeze was blowing, we were not the least too hot. As soon as we came down we had luncheon, provided by the Viceroy, everything having been sent on from Cairo.

We then got on donkeys and rode to a beautiful tomb close by, which I believe was excavated by Colonel Campbell. Afterwards to a wonderful temple, built in a hole in the ground and hollowed out of a rock. The blocks of red granite were of enormous size. We also crawled into another place, half-temple half-tomb, recently discovered, the colours on the walls of which are still quite fresh though three thousand years old. The donkey—named the Flying Dutchman—which I rode had enough to do to carry me, and I doubt very much whether he would have been able to get on at all, had it not been for two Arabs who supported me, one on each side. Then we returned to the tent and mounted our horses again. Five or six Arabs of the desert asked to be allowed to show us some martial exercises, which appeared to me to consist simply in standing in a row, each fellow in turn putting a musket to his shoulder, galloping about two hundred yards to the front, and returning again. After this performance had been continued for some time, it was brought to an abrupt conclusion by one of the horsemen riding up against Lord Napier, and tumbling him head over heels in the sand. When we passed the bridge we took a long gallop for about two miles, my little Arab being so fiery that I could hardly hold him. He appeared to make nothing of my weight, and went a very good pace. We returned the same way, arriving at our palace at six o'clock.'

Cairo, Saturday, 28th November.—'The Viceroy's eldest son came to pay us a visit, accompanied by his guardian, Murad Pasha. He told us that his brother

was to reside in England for five years, and had already arrived there under the care of Colonel G. This boy appears to study hard; they work him between eight and nine hours every day. About an hour afterwards I was obliged to return his visit, at his palace in the citadel. The usual conversation on ordinary topics took place, with pipes and coffee. On our way back to our palace we paid a visit to Ali Pasha. He has a large stud of horses. We went into his house which was very handsomely furnished, when the usual pipes and coffee were introduced. We also went into the stables,—immense places like barns apportioned out into large loose boxes. We saw a great number of Arab horses, some of which were for racing purposes and some for riding. All his brood mares are kept here, and we counted between sixty and seventy Arab horses altogether. Most of those which he ran were small, and on the whole I did not think them a very good lot. The foals are generally dropped by November or December, and are bred entirely from his own stallions. He had two English mares which looked excessively bad—in fact, half-starved. It is quite evident that their indoor life does not agree with them. The house and stables are situated in a large courtyard in the middle of the town of Cairo, and are approached by some of its narrowest streets. Nothing, in the exterior would lead one to believe that the establishment was of such large dimensions. We spent about an hour and a half in the stables very agreeably. Ali Pasha is a man of immense wealth; Ismail Bey

told me that he is supposed to have £60,000 a year. He keeps a very large retinue of servants, each horse having a man to look after him. He has also two English jockeys constantly employed, whom we did not see.

After luncheon at the palace we went to the railway station, where a special train was in waiting to take us on to Ismailia. Our party consisted of Lord Napier and staff, Colonel Stanton, Colonel Legge, Ismail and Zamiel Bey, Captain M., and Mr. W. After it leaves Zag-a-zig the railway runs on through the land of Goshen, a narrow cultivated strip almost at right angles with the Nile. In three hours we arrived at Ismailia, where we found M. Lesseps and several officials of the Suez Canal waiting for us with carriages and torches. Lord Napier and I got into a *char-à-banc* drawn by four mules. We drove up to M. Lesseps' house which is very nice, being something like a Swiss cottage with a broad verandah. Here we found a large party assembled, including several French naval officers and the Comte and Comtesse J. The Comte said he had come from Odessa and was going to India. He is a Russian, and made the campaign of the Crimea with his regiment. After dinner, M. Lesseps told us a good deal about the canal. He is evidently a man of great ability and energy, and expressed himself very eloquently, describing everything in a graphic manner. He was originally in diplomacy, having been French Consul-General in Egypt and afterwards Minister in Spain. He mentioned that he was of Scotch extrac-

tion, and that his ancestors came over to France in the reign of James II. He is a near relation of the Empress, for he told me that his father and a Scotch gentleman, when travelling together in Spain many years ago, married two sisters—one of them was his mother, and the other the grandmother of the Empress.'

Suez Canal, 29th November.—'At 5.30 the carriages were again at the door, and took us down lighted by torches to Lake Timsah. We, soon entered the canal, and became at once aware of the magnitude of the enterprise. It is one hundred metres [328 feet] wide by eight metres [26½ feet] deep in its deepest portion. [I believe it is now still further deepened.] Some of the cuttings are very heavy, particularly those at El Guisr and Serapeum; the highest, that of El Guisr, being about seventy metres [229 feet] from the bottom of the canal. From Lake Timsah to the sea at Port Said on the Mediterranean, which is seventy-five kilometres or about 47 miles in length, the work of excavation is heavy and is entirely carried on by enormous dredges, sixty of which are employed. They are worked by engines of 50-horse power. The sand and mud which they bring up are disposed of in three ways. First, by being emptied into lighters, and sunk in Lake Timsah, the sea, or any other outlet where their contents can be borne by water. Second, by being emptied into large barges of peculiar construction divided into apartments. These are taken alongside an immense lighter, which supports an elevator worked by steam. The square

trucks or compartments are lifted by steam-power out of the barge, and their contents discharged upon the banks of the canal. The third plan, which is the most effective, is where the truck empties itself into large coulons or troughs extending from the dredge to the shore, and thus deposits the stuff upon the dry land, forming a great bank of earth and sand alongside the canal. The work they do is wonderful, and it was most curious to see these enormous engines floating in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet or 3 feet of water, biting their way into the dry banks, or raising the sand or mud from a great depth and depositing it upon the banks of the canal. They were all made in France, and designed by M. Lavallée, who is now the contractor and also the principal engineer of the undertaking. All the officers are in his employment, and I am told that his organization is so good, that every one of them has a pecuniary interest in the success of the work and its speedy completion.

‘On entering the canal, we passed several large lighters, which were taking their spoil to be deposited in Lake Timsah. We halted at El Guisr, the first station of importance after Ismailia, and one of the divisions into which the work is parcelled out. All the stations have the same character—a wide street, low houses with large verandahs, and little gardens at the back, which in some cases were full of the most beautiful flowers. One of the earliest works undertaken in connection with the canal was the conveyance of fresh water from the Nile to Ismailia by a smaller canal. This fresh-water canal followed

to a certain extent the line of the old canal of the Pharaohs, and was probably a restoration of the identical mode by which the Israelites fertilized the land of Goshen. From Ismailia to Port Said upwards of sixty miles of nine-inch iron tubes convey fresh water along the bank of the traffic canal. It is pumped up by three powerful engines, and gives a supply sufficient for the daily wants of a population of upwards of thirty thousand people, a vast number of animals, the watering of all the steam-engines which are used on the canal, and of the sea-going ships at Port Said. Wherever this water touches the desert, it immediately becomes fertile land; and in some of the gardens belonging to the officers employed on the canal we found the rarest hot-house plants flourishing in great beauty. Within two inches of the end of the trench where the water ceases, the desert begins and there is nothing but barrenness.

‘The deputy-engineer, who was acting for the chief of the division, showed us a good many sections and working plans. The work performed by each dredge is marked in blue upon the section every week, and the chief of the division can see at a glance the actual progress. From El Guisr we proceeded to Kantura, where we examined one of the large steam dredges which was pouring its contents from its long trough on to the bank of the canal. We also stopped to inspect an elevator, which was raising the stuff out of the barges in the way I have before described. At Kantura, as in all these stations, there is a regular French organization under the directing engineer.’

We were put in a small truck drawn by a mule, and ran up a short railway to the doctor's house, where we found a clean little hospital made for the purpose of relieving persons injured in the works. There were four men in it slightly wounded; they seemed to be well taken care of by the doctor, who was married to an Englishwoman. It is here that the road to Syria crosses the canal—the ancient road from Cairo to the Holy Land, by which all went from the time of Abraham till the Virgin Mary passed by this very spot in the flight into Egypt. We saw some camels start for the desert; but the recollections of the past were strangely interrupted by observing that they now followed the line of the electric telegraph, which runs from here, by Jerusalem, to the valley of the Euphrates.

‘When we got to Port Said, we found all the ships in the harbour dressed out in their gayest colours. This place may be said to have been created by the Suez Canal Company. Twelve years ago the first post was stuck into the sand of the breakwater. Port Said is now a town of twenty thousand inhabitants, with a large and commodious harbour, where we saw a number of ships and several steamers of great tonnage. A long breakwater on the western side, and a shorter one on the east, enclose a considerable space of water at the entrance of the canal, and outside the line of coast. These breakwaters have been formed by huge blocks of artificial concrete stone made of lime and sand; all manufactured at Port Said. The whole harbour has been dredged out from the sand, and

there is now a depth of eight metres or twenty-seven feet throughout it. A line of deep water, considerably broader than the canal itself, has been dredged along the side of the western breakwater, so that large ships have little difficulty in coming in. A new bank of sand has, however, risen on the western side of the breakwater, caused by the interruption of the ordinary current, and the line of coast has advanced. It yet remains to be seen, therefore, whether it will be possible, without enormous expense, to keep the entrance to the harbour free from the drifting sand, which the current moves in enormous quantities along these shores.'

After a careful examination of the works, in too exact detail to be reproduced here, the diary goes on : 'While waiting for dinner, M. La Roche, the chief engineer, gave us an admirable description of the various machines employed, describing them with the force of a well-practised and experienced lecturer. He also related the history of Port Said, which was most interesting. It is wonderful to think that what is now a large basin for commerce, capable of holding fifty or sixty ships drawing twenty-seven feet of water, was eight years ago nothing but a sand-bank, and one of the most desert and uninhabited districts of the earth. M. La Roche gave us an excellent dinner, to which were invited all the principal people of Port Said. I was greatly struck with the intelligence and charming manners of M. Lavallée. He is now undertaking the contract to complete the whole of the work by the 1st October 1869 for an

enormous sum, and is under a penalty of, I believe, two hundred thousand francs a month to have it finished by that time. M. La Roche, during his conversation, glanced at several objections which were made as to the future success of the undertaking. With the sanguine disposition of a Frenchman, he appeared to make light of them all. He says the drifting sands are not so formidable as they are represented; they do not take place throughout the whole length of the canal, but only occur in certain tracts of no very great magnitude, and can be met in various ways, but principally by promoting vegetation along the canal. The tamarisk and other trees and bushes will grow upon the sand. These are very useful in intercepting its movement; and as a last resource it would not be difficult, by the application of fresh water, to cultivate on each side of the dangerous places a sufficient quantity of land to guard against this difficulty. Another danger much spoken of is the injury which may occur to the banks by the wave caused by the towing of large vessels through the canal. This he admitted to be formidable, but it will depend very much upon the speed of the vessels; and the incline of the edges of the canal is so very gradual, that he considers, even if the evil takes place, the wave will not fill up the middle of the canal with the rapidity that people apprehend. Another difficulty is the passing of large ships when they meet during transit. This, I believe, they almost admit could not be safely managed at present; but in Lake Timsah, in the Bitter Lakes, at Kantura, and at other places, there

will be ample opportunities given for ships crossing ; and long lines of vessels may be transmitted in each direction, passing each other at stated times at the places mentioned.

‘ Soon after dinner we returned to our boat, and started on our way back to Ismailia. I had a small berth on board, in which I slept comfortably the greater part of the way, notwithstanding the steam whistle at my head, which was kept going at every dredge we passed, in order to oblige them to lower their mooring chain to permit us to cross. We arrived at Ismailia at five in the morning. It was very cold, and we were received by a long line of torch-bearers who carried iron grates filled with burning wood on their shoulders.’

Monday, 30th November.—‘ This day was to be devoted to the inspection of the southern portion of the canal, between Lake Timsah and Suez. We lay down for a couple of hours, and were all at breakfast at 7.30. Leaving Ismailia in the boat in which we arrived last night, we emerged from the canal at the opposite side of the lake, and passed over the spot at which those who agree with M. Lesseps consider that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. We then came to the great cutting of Serapeum. At this part of the line, to the Bitter Lakes, the cutting was so heavy that it would have been impossible to have done it by human labour within the time allowed by the contract. On considering this matter, M. Lavallée almost gave up his project in despair, and went back to Cairo to think over it. A friend with whom he was associated

travelled with him. He awoke him at four o'clock one morning, crying, "I have thought of the means of disposing of the Serapeum : we can do it with our dredges." His plan was most ingenious. He banked up the end of the canal at the point to which the salt-water works had been brought. A small portion of the remainder had been scooped out by manual labour. He banked this up at the end next the Bitter Lakes, turned the fresh-water canal into it, brought his dredges round to the lakes at Ismailia, and as the level of the fresh-water canal is far above that of the works, he has them now working at an elevation of thirty feet above the intended canal ; and in two months they expect that these enormous machines will have dug out the canal to its proper depth. The bar will then be removed, and the sea-water allowed to come into the portion of the canal which has thus been excavated. We stood in the southern barrage, and looked down a long and straight piece of canal, which has been finished "in the dry" as far as the edge of the great basin of the Bitter Lakes.

'A large portion of the works between Shalouf and Suez is being performed by manual labour, and as we rode along the banks of the intended canal, we saw upwards of twenty thousand men at work. These workmen are gathered from all parts of the Mediterranean coast—Dalmatians, Servians, Greeks, Syrians, negroes from Nubia, Egyptian Fellahs, Philistines—all superintended by the French employés of the contractors. The work is done entirely by task, and the organization appears to be splendid. The clay and

sand are carried up the sides of the canal, at some places in baskets on men's heads, at others by camels and asses; but the principal part of the work is done by the inclined plane and waggons worked by steam-engines at the top. They told me that at first it was very difficult to establish a system of task-work, but that now its advantages are recognised by all. The men form themselves into gangs of eight, ten, or twelve, and are paid by the cubic foot of earth they dig out, according to the hardness of the material. In most of the gangs the different nationalities worked together; but in one of them I saw an Assyrian, two negroes, an Egyptian, and two or three Dalmatians, working side by side. The amount earned by each gang varies, according to the strength of the men, from five or six francs a piece *per diem* to two and a half or three. In parts of the line large blocks of stone had been met, and at some places ledges of rock. This rendered the working of the dredges impossible. They were tried at first, but failed, and great labour had to be expended in pumping out the water which had been let in. We saw a part of the line near Suez where the dredges (having encountered rock) had been obliged to give up. However, sixty dredges, each of them doing the labour of a thousand men a day, are now at full work. Hundreds of asses, mules, and camels are employed, and twenty thousand navvies are hard at it daily with pick and shovel.

'At Suez we took leave of our French friends, thanking them as warmly as we could for two of the most interesting days I ever spent in my life, and

for the extreme kindness and attention with which we had been received. M. Lesseps and all his subordinates, from the highest to the lowest, placed themselves entirely at our disposal, with horses, boats, and steamers; and I must say there did not seem to be the slightest disposition on the part of any one to conceal or hide anything connected with the works. They spoke with the utmost frankness not only of the difficulties they had surmounted, but of several important questions relating to the work which have yet to be solved.

After dinner M. Lesseps repeated, for Lady Mayo's information, his view of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. He says that it is a great error to conceive that the capital of Egypt in the days of Joseph was situated at Cairo. He thinks that, in the reign of the fifty sovereigns who are called the pastoral kings of Egypt, their place of residence was at Saine, on the tributary of the Nile which runs into the southern portion of Lake Menzaleh. Here the waters are quite still, and an enormous number of bulrushes, or rather reeds, are found on this branch of the Nile. He says that if Moses had been placed in a cradle in the bulrushes near Cairo, he would have been swept away by the stream; but here, the waters being almost perfectly still, the cradle would have remained any length of time in the position his mother put it. Moses, therefore, he thinks was found at Saine. The Israelites at that time were cultivating the eastern end of the desert by means of Pharaoh's canal—the most fertile strip called the

Land of Goshen. After Moses killed the Egyptian, he fled into the land of Midian, to a place named Elam, which is on the eastern shore of the 'Red Sea, somewhat below Suez. He wandered about, feeding Jethro's flocks for many years all through that country, and coming down as far as Sinai and Horeb. He must have been perfectly acquainted with every valley and hill in the whole district through which he afterwards led the Israelites. After meeting with Aaron he probably returned to Saine, and there commenced, according to the commandment of God, to intercede for the release of the Israelites. After the plagues were over and Pharaoh consented to let them go, they arrived on the first day at Rameses. They could not march the direct way to Syria on account of the Philistines, so on the fourth day they arrived on the edge of the Red Sea, which at that time extended as far north as Lake Timsah. It is written in the Bible, that "the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided." This is an occurrence which is well known to have frequently taken place in these shallow waters, and hundreds of acres are recorded in history to have been laid bare by the operation of a strong wind. He thinks, therefore, that the Israelites passed over somewhere near Toussoum. After the destruction of the Egyptians by the return of the waters, they wandered about and then came to the south, and arrived at a place called Marah. The place is called Bir Mourah by the Arabs at the present day, and some wells still exist, the water


of which is brackish. There is, moreover, a branch of a certain tree, whose name M. Lesseps did not know, which the Arabs throw into the well to render the water sufficiently good for camels and donkeys to drink. The Israelites then turned straight to the south, and, marching along the eastern shore of the Bitter Lakes, arrived at Elam, where are still to be found twelve wells of water and a large number of old palm trees. After dinner we went on board the *Feroze* [Indian Government steamer], which was lying in the roads. The captains of the two large transport ships, the *Jumna* and the *Malabar*, illuminated their ports and burned blue lights at their yards. Lord Napier came on board about twelve o'clock, when we immediately sailed for Aden.

‘To speak in general terms of the Suez Canal, I am of opinion that about two-thirds of the work is now completed, and that, unless some unforeseen misfortune takes place, it will be finished early in 1870; that ships for the present will be unable to pass each other, and the traffic will have to be worked as on a single line of railway, with wider places which will act as sidings; that the crumbling of sand in the middle of the canal, caused by the wave created by the passage of large vessels, will have to be met by dredging; that the amount to which this will occur is at present uncertain, particularly as the best means of towing sailing vessels is as yet undecided—whether by traction engines from the bank, or by means of an endless chain along the bottom of the canal, or by ordinary tug-boats; that the difficulties

to be anticipated from the drifting sands are confined to a comparatively small portion of the works, and can be got over by artificial means, such as planting and cultivating; that the approaches by sea are already so complete that no obstacle will be found in that direction; and that the filling of the Bitter Lakes will be accomplished, though the time which will be consumed in the operation is very uncertain. With regard to the commercial success of the project, the tariff of charge is as yet quite undecided. M. Lesseps talks about £1 a ton, which he calculates will give them the first year about a million and a half of money. In this estimate, however, he includes a large portion of the trade now borne by sailing vessels. The navigation of the Red Sea has hitherto been confined to steamers alone; and it remains to be seen, whether in a narrow sea, with difficult winds, navigation for ordinary sailing vessels will be profitable or even possible. It is very probable, however, that in course of time, if the undertaking succeeds, a large quantity of shipping with the auxiliary screw will be constructed to meet the peculiar circumstances of the voyage. It is impossible to say too much of the grandeur of the conception of this work, and the extraordinary courage and energy with which it has been carried out, or of the ingenuity displayed in the machines, many of which have been invented, and all adapted, for the purpose. Nor can the perfect organization, and the enthusiasm with which Lesseps and Lavallée seem to have inspired every one connected with them, be too highly estimated. Whatever be its

results, it will ever stand forth as the greatest work which the French nation has attempted. We were received by M. Lesseps and his friends with a cordiality and a kindness which I never saw exceeded. Their civility was only exceeded by their frankness; and a more agreeable, able, or enthusiastic set of gentlemen I never met with.'

There is nothing more reposeful to a busy man than the voyage across the Indian Ocean. Except during the monsoon months, that sea seldom knows anything but perfect weather; nor could any better cure be suggested for the weariness of self and disgust with one's efforts to which men who habitually strain their brain are subject. If the remedy were more generally tried, it would, I believe, affect the percentage of suicides among the professional classes. When the fast train deposits the traveller at Folkstone, the dangers of an Indian expedition may be considered over. The discomforts of the voyage are chiefly endured during the hour and forty minutes on the Channel. The most inexperienced person cannot possibly go astray between Calais and Brindisi. A certain expression of quite needless haste in his countenance, and an ineradicable desire to get more packages into his carriage than the Continental lines allow, mark him from the moment he sets foot on French soil as a passenger by the Overland Mail. He is jostled into the proper train at each railway station, mildly plundered and carefully kept right by every landlord and porter along the route. In the Mediterranean, he probably enjoys for a couple of days that repose



of mind and body which proceeds from retirement from the world. But he finds that such enforced retirement, if properly managed, has many compensations. The highest form of repose is to be had on board a great Messageries steamer. In these floating cities of 3400 tons, an Englishman can talk as little as he pleases, under the general assumption that a Briton understands no language but his own. Moreover, on the Messageries, dinner represents a more serious effort of mental activity and technical organization than it does on our own time-honoured line. As Lord Mayo and his suite made the voyage, it is simply yachting with plenty of room.

He presently became too lazy to keep his diary, and dismisses the seven days from Suez to Aden in as many lines. At Aden he woke up again, and tried to master the facts regarding this first outpost of the Indian Empire. It should be remembered that information a hundredfold more exact than anything here quoted about our military position is accumulated in the bureau of the Etat-Major-General, both at Berlin and St. Petersburg. Lord Mayo's observations, moreover, represent the state of things seven years ago, since which time many improvements have taken place. I omit, however, the detailed criticisms of individual works and their names.

Aden, Tuesday, 8th December.—‘Cast anchor this morning at 4 o'clock in the harbour of Aden. Sir Edward Russell, the Resident and General commanding the troops, came on board with Captain

Goodfellow, his assistant. Shortly afterwards Lord Napier and I landed. We were received by a guard of honour of the 87th Regiment, with their band, and a number of the officers of the garrison. A salute was fired by the Royal Artillery. We inspected the works. The fort is constructed on most defective principles. Little Aden, on the other side of the harbour, is a position of great importance. It is, like the peninsula of Aden itself, a rocky basaltic hill, and might become most formidable were it to fall into the hands of any power other than ourselves. I consider the possible opening of the Suez Canal of such importance as regards this place, that I pressed upon Sir E. Russell the necessity of placing this and several other questions on a satisfactory footing with as little delay as possible.

‘We then went to the Residency to breakfast, where Sir E. Russell received us with the greatest hospitality and kindness. His house is large, airy, and commodious, and of a construction entirely new to our eyes. The rooms are open in every direction, the principal apartment being a very large verandah, supported upon heavy pillars of cement. We remained quiet till the afternoon. Several officers called during the day, and about 4 o’clock we got into the carriage, and, passing the point where we landed, drove on for about six miles along an excellent road to what is called the “Isthmus position.” We saw the enormous stores of coal accumulated here by the P. and O. Company, the quantity being in excess of what is usual on account of an expected

market from the Abyssinian war. Passed by the esplanade, where there is an hotel and some shops. Here they had erected a triumphal arch, dressed with flags and coloured calico. A little farther on we came to the French coal ground, where a large quantity of fuel is stored for the Messageries Impariales [now Maritimes]. Passing still along the shore, we came to the barrier gate of the Isthmus position. This is a small cantonment, shut in from the remainder of the peninsula by high rocks commanding the sandy strip which forms the Isthmus of Aden. The married men's quarters are particularly comfortable, and they seem to have plenty of room. Three miles out in the isthmus we could see the white roofs of another small cantonment which has been established there, and occupied by a party called "the Aden troop"—a small corps of about two hundred men, most of whom were in the Sind Horse.

The water supply of Aden has become a very serious question. The population has now risen to upwards of thirty thousand, and the sole means by which really sweet water can be supplied is by condensers, worked at a great cost, owing to the dearness of coal. The Turks long ago constructed in the hills near the cantonment several splendid tanks which we have restored, for catching all the rain-water that falls. But the rain comes so seldom in these latitudes that it is not to be depended upon; and although the tanks have been restored for some years, they have never yet been filled com-

pletely. There is no water in them at present. The allowance to the troops is three gallons per man per day, but a portion of this is composed of brackish water, which is not wholesome either for cooking or drinking. I am in great hopes, however, that a project will be matured which will have the effect of bringing to the peninsula an ample supply of good water. [For political reasons I here and elsewhere omit the details of projected works.] I think that for £60,000 an ample supply of fresh water might be brought to Aden, there raised by steam power into a large tank, and distributed over the whole peninsula by gravitation. A quantity of iron pipes remaining from the Abyssinian expedition could be made available for this purpose. With an increasing commercial population, there should be no difficulty in raising funds for this object, and the whole thing ought to be done without imposing any charge upon the revenues of India. After dark we returned to the Residency, but were intercepted on our way by the loyal Parsis, who had got up a little display of fireworks and flags on the esplanade opposite the hotel.

Wednesday, 9th December.—'Rose at a quarter before 5, and drove at once to the town and the principal cantonment. This is situated in the crater of an extinct volcano, on the sides of which scarcely a particle of vegetation exists. The heat must be tremendous in this burning cup in summer. It is entered by a very narrow pass in the rock, which was made, I believe, by the Turks. The view from the position above is very fine, and we saw as many

as sixty or seventy fishing-boats plying their trade upon the waters below. We then rode to a causeway which connects the island of Seora with the mainland. At the foot of the cliff there is a small work, which seems to be agreed by all to be perfectly useless. I walked up to the top of the hill, where there is a tier upon which are mounted four 56-lb. guns. This appears to me to be a work whose only use would be to make a target for an enemy's ships. It is known that if a 110-pounder gun were placed upon it, the whole work would speedily crumble down from its own fire. Looked at the commissariat beef; visited the military hospital; and inspected the barracks, in which the headquarters of the 82d are placed. The dormitories are all on the upper storey, and are most airy and spacious, with a fine wide verandah.

'At 5 o'clock we drove again to the cantonment, where a public reception had been prepared for us. We walked up in procession, the band playing in front of us. On the platform were collected all the officers stationed at Aden, the French consul, and others. We were presented to most of the native inhabitants, principally Parsís.'

After an address from the European and native community of Aden, with Lord Mayo's reply, the diary runs on:—'At dinner I had a long talk with Captain Goodfellow, who is a very well-informed man, and an excellent Arabic scholar. He seems to think it a misfortune that the visits to the chiefs on the coast, which at one time were frequently

made by him and General Coghlan, are not continued. There is now no proper means of conveyance for this purpose since the Indian Navy has been done away with; and the chiefs are beginning to think that they are neglected, and that intentions are entertained of our abandoning Aden altogether.'

'The conclusions I have come to regarding Aden are,—[*N.B.*—Many searching and adverse criticisms on individual works have been omitted.]

'(1.) That the military defences may be considered as non-existent against an attack from armour-plated ships, or even ordinary vessels carrying heavy guns.

'(2.) That, except as against native tribes and land forces unsupplied with siege artillery, it is not a fortress at all.

'(3.) That the cheapest and most effective mode of defence would probably be by iron-plated monitors carrying heavy guns, with some heavy guns placed in sand batteries or on Monctieff gun-carriages.

'(4.) That, as a very large development of trade and consequent increase of the population are certain to occur, the question of the water-supply must be immediately faced.

'(5.) That the position of Little Aden ought to be acquired with the least possible delay.

'(6.) That a railway, the materials for which are almost on the spot, should be made from the Cantonment and Isthmus position to Steamer Point. This would render the defence of Aden possible by a comparatively small number of troops.

'(7.) That, as the Suez Canal promises to be com-

pleted so soon, and as it is impossible to estimate the effect it will have in bringing large numbers of armed European steamers to these waters, there is no time for delay; and if Aden is to be maintained at all, an adequate defence and a sufficient supply of water ought to be provided at once. It might, however, be sufficient for the present to consider only the defences of Steamer Point, the coal-stores, and the entrance to the harbour; and it would be easy to cut off that portion of the position from the remainder. There would then be no inducement to a hostile power to attack the Cantonment and the Isthmus position, which without the coal-depots have no commercial or political importance.'

I would again remind the reader that these words were written seven years ago. Much has been done since then in the directions indicated.

The next ten days were passed upon the Indian Ocean, from Aden to Bombay, and have left no memorials behind. Lord Mayo spent the time in reading books about India, and discussing Indian questions with Lord Napier of Magdala.

Off Bombay, Saturday, 19th December.—'At twelve o'clock we sighted land, and after wavering about a good deal, made the red revolving light and took a pilot on board. Heard for the first time about the change of Ministry, which was a matter of great astonishment, as it never occurred to me that Disraeli would have found it impossible to meet Parliament.'

It is scarcely needful to say that Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Ministry declined to take advantage of the

popular clamour against Lord Mayo's appointment, and duly gave effect to their predecessors' nomination.

Bombay, Sunday, 20th December.—'Landed at eight in the Government barges. A crowd of people, both Europeans and natives, were at the dockyard *bandar* [landing-place] to receive us. They cheered a good deal as we stepped on shore. We were introduced to some of the judges and the principal officials. A large tent and long galleries had been erected, covered with red cloth. There was a guard of honour and a band, the streets being lined for a considerable distance. The Governor's carriages were waiting for us, and we drove straight to Parell [Government House], where we were received by Sir Seymour Fitzgerald [the Governor]. After breakfast had a long talk with Fitzgerald. At six o'clock we went to service in the Cathedral. The large punkahs in church, waving backwards and forwards, have a very curious effect.'

Monday, 21st December.—'Rode out at six with young Fitzgerald and Mereweather, first on the sands and afterwards to see the discharge of one of the main sewers into the sea, the stench from which was sickening. Rode home by some rice-fields. Stayed out rather late, and found it very hot. After breakfast went to see our horses which have arrived here, and, considering the voyage, are looking remarkably well. There was a large reception in the evening, at which I was presented to an immense number of people. The Rájá of Jámkhandi brought his wife, a nice little Hindu woman who speaks some English. He is much wondered at and abused by the natives

for taking his wife into society. The gardens were beautifully illuminated.'

Tuesday, 22d December.—'Rode out in the morning with Sir Seymour Fitzgerald and Lord Napier of Magdala to see the House of Correction. Found it very clean, but, after the manner of Indian gaols, no attempt at anything in the shape of reformatory treatment. There were about eighty-five European prisoners and upwards of a hundred and fifty natives. Most of the European prisoners were soldiers. There seemed to be a good deal of industrial work going on, principally the weaving of cocoa-nut matting. The chaplain's visits appeared to be unfrequent, and no divine service is performed in the gaol for the European prisoners. [It should be remembered that Lord Mayo speaks of the state of affairs seven years ago. Since then many improvements, thanks in no small part to him, have been carried out.] Sir Seymour Fitzgerald received a visit from the chief of Porbandar and his two sons. The ceremony of reception, which I believe is the same on all similar occasions, is this: The chief and his two sons, who were covered with jewels, were led in by an A.D.C. Fitzgerald and I were seated on the sofa at the end of a long room. The Rájá was invited to sit down beside us, and after a few commonplace sentences, a gold box, a cup, and a bottle of scent were brought in, and some sweet powder and otto of roses were sprinkled by Fitzgerald on the Rájá's pocket-handkerchief, the same thing being done by the aide-de-camp to the two sons. A large garland of flowers was then brought in on a tray.

This garland Fitzgerald placed round the Rájá's neck, with a garland for each of his arms, and a huge bouquet. The same was done for each of his sons. The whole ceremony did not last more than six or seven minutes. A dinner-party of eighty, consisting of the principal officials of Bombay.'

Wednesday, 23d December.—'Started at six this morning by special train for Púna, the party consisting of Lord Napier and his staff, Burne [Lord Mayo's Private Secretary], and Eddy [Major Bourke, his Military Secretary]. The scenery of the Gháts is very fine—steep rocky hills with flat tops. Lord Napier tells me it very much resembles Abyssinia. We went on the engine up the steepest part of the incline, which for about seventeen miles varies from one in ninety to one in thirty. Arrived at Púna at one o'clock, and were received at the railway station by a great number of officers in full dress, and a larger body of natives. At four o'clock we drove out, going first across the new bridge to the powder manufactory. There have been two accidents already in the workshops for detonating caps. They were removed up here, as it was thought that the climate of Bombay was too damp to work the material properly; and now it is found that the climate of Púna is so dry that they cannot make the caps without the danger of explosion. The rolling-mills are not yet in a very perfect state. From thence we went to the Deccan College which has lately been established, and is one of the colleges affiliated with the University of Bombay. We saw two classes at work. The Principal says that the

young men work very hard, but they are too fond of acquiring knowledge mechanically; and he constantly finds them getting by heart long pages of 'mathematical formulæ, instead of working them in their heads. However, he occasionally finds men who have remarkable capacity for mathematics. The building is handsome and well suited for the purpose. The students live in bungalows close by, and a few reside with their families in the town. We stopped for a short time at the Sassoon Hospital which has been lately endowed by Mr. Sassoon, a rich merchant of Bombay. There is accommodation for a hundred and forty persons, but there are only forty in it at present. We went into all the wards; they seemed to be well ventilated and kept clean. We then returned to Lord Napier's house, where we found a large party of officers assembled for dinner.'

Thursday, 24th December.—'Rode to the Jiranda gaol which is to be the central prison for the Deccan. Eight hundred men are confined here, and are principally occupied in building the new prison which seems to be constructed on very good principles. There are no European prisoners. The men are all chained, and are managed by eight native officers. The acting governor, who is superintending the works, declares that he is building the prison at sixty per cent. less than it would cost if it was constructed by free labour. The stone is quarried, the mortar made, and the masonry and carpenter's work done by the prisoners. Nothing is bought except timber and iron. There is, however, no attempt at reformatory treatment, and

the male prisoners sleep in barns, which hold about forty prisoners each. We rode home across the new bridge to the lines of the Native Infantry Regiment, where we saw a small regimental school, and examined a class composed of men who have been sent in by various native infantry regiments to be instructed as schoolmasters. They read well, but the examination in arithmetic was not satisfactory. We then visited one of the barracks for European troops; it was very good. Saw the bakery, and returned to Lord Napier's house. After breakfast, looked at a number of Arab horses which the veterinary surgeon had brought to me. I bought three. Received a visit from the High Priest of the Parsís, a fine old man who was presented with a large gold medal by Her Majesty for his loyalty during the disturbances. Saw also Dr. Beatty, the medical officer of the Jiranda gaol, who gave me much interesting information on gaol management. He told me that, when he first took charge of the gaol, the men were dying at the rate of twenty a quarter from a disease called "gaol fever." He made several *post mortem* examinations and found there was no organic complaint. By treating them with richer food, and occasionally, when he saw signs of exhaustion, with a good glass of arrack punch, he stopped the complaint altogether, and during the last four months there has not been a single case. He seems to think that the principle of marks, reduction of punishment by labour, and ticket-leave, can be adopted with success. In fact, conditional release is at present in operation, and is found to work well; and many

are employed as free labourers who have been taught in the gaol. At four o'clock we went to a review of the garrison. There were 2800 men in the field. Another large party of officers to dinner. Left Púna by special train, arriving at Bombay at six in the morning.'

Bombay, Friday, 25th December (Christmas Day).—
'Went to the Cathedral at eleven. We rode afterwards to call upon Lord Napier of Magdala, at his encampment upon the esplanade.'

Saturday, 26th December.—'Drove in the morning to see the works of the Elphinstone Land Company, which astonished me by their magnitude. Nearly the whole frontage to the harbour of the commercial port of Bombay is now occupied by the property belonging to the P. and O. Company, the Elphinstone Land Company, and the Government. It is, perhaps, the finest site for commerce in the world. Steamed round the harbour, and saw a portion of the various defences which are proposed. The construction of the batteries has been stopped, pending the decision with regard to the Moncrieff gun-carriage. We then steamed over to the island of Elephanta, saw the caves, and walked round the island. A beautiful view, Mr. W. was very much disgusted on finding the cave occupied by some drunken British soldiers and an American party, one of whom was playing on a banjo. This day enabled me to form an estimate of the works, military and naval, in the harbour of Bombay.'

Sunday, 27th December.—'Mr. Crawford, the muni-

cial commissioner of the town of Bombay, came to luncheon. Discussed the question of municipal taxation, sewage, and sanitary matters at great length. He is in favour of an octroi duty on seven or eight articles of prime necessity, arguing that it is impossible without some tax of that kind to make the labouring classes of the town, who are very well off and enjoying high wages, contribute anything towards the measures which have been taken for their improvement. He says that the effect of the sanitary measures has been most marked. He is in favour of utilizing the sewage at a place about five miles distant from Bombay, the present outfalls being most defective, and a source of considerable danger, from the fact that the sea brings back and throws upon the shore a considerable portion of the filth of the town. After him came Mr. Turner, Inspector of Cotton Frauds, who gave me much information as to the state of the cotton trade. He appears to think that much of the pressing will be done up the country after a little while, and approves highly of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald's plan of making the Cotton Inspectors keep a small garden for experiments in the cultivation of the plant. The pressing and packing of cotton from which the seeds have not been properly extracted greatly deteriorates the quality, as a portion of the oil from the seed is pressed out into the fibre. The cry, of course, is for railways and means of communication with the interior. To church at the Cathedral.'

Monday, 28th December.—'Went in the morning

to see the dockyard, which seems in an excellent position and contains two docks. The machinery, however, and all the appurtenances are of the most antiquated description, and ill-suited to the great amount of work they have to perform. Went on afterwards to see Forbes' cotton-presses at Kolaba; they are on the hydraulic lever principle, and are supposed to be the best in Bombay. Examined a variety of sorts of cotton brought here for exportation. Very little of it was ginned; in fact none, except that which came from Dharwar. After breakfast received a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce, with whom I had a long discussion. I also had an interview with the agent of the Bombay and Barodá Railway. Drove in the afternoon to the Town Hall. Met Lord Napier, and went with him to see the sick officers' quarters, which are very bad; also the new bungalow for the depot, equally bad. Drove on then to Kolaba; saw the lines there, and the intended site of the new battery, which is excellent. Climbed up to the top of the lighthouse, whence we had a very fine view of the whole position of Kolaba. The expense of erecting the Kolaba barracks is almost inconceivable. Returned to Parell [Government House], where there was a large ball. Had a long talk with the Resident of Kathiáwar, and with the Director of Irrigation in the Bombay Presidency.'

Tuesday, 29th December.—'Although we were not in bed till 2.30, we started this morning at six to visit the Vehar water-works. Found a very exten-

sive reservoir, caused by the damming-up of three different valleys. The water is conveyed to Bombay through an iron pipe. The supply, however, is insufficient, as it only gives ten gallons per man per day for the population. The valley in which it stands is said to be very unwholesome and feverish, and many of the staff died during the construction of the work. After breakfast we were all photographed.' [Deputations and interviews filled the day, with the laying of the foundation-stone of the new University buildings by Sir Seymour Fitzgerald in the evening] 'Afterwards we drove to the dock-yard, and embarked in the *May Frere* for Elephanta. The caves were lit up, and a capital dinner for twenty-five people served therein. Dr. Wilson [the eminent archæologist and missionary] explained with great clearness the history of the sculptures. After dinner the caves were illuminated with blue lights which showed the sculptures more clearly than they could be seen by daylight. There was a small display of fireworks, the vessels being also illuminated. We returned home by 12 o'clock, exceedingly tired.'

Wednesday, 30th December.—'Left Parell at a quarter to eight, having bid Sir Seymour Fitzgerald good-bye. The streets were lined with soldiers, and a number of people were at the dockyard to see us off. Lord Napier of Magdala accompanied us on board. I parted with him with extreme regret, as his kindness to me throughout the whole journey has been most remarkable. We were loudly cheered

as we started. The yards of the vessels in the harbour were manned, and by 9 o'clock we passed the Kolaba lighthouse. So closed our stay at Bombay.'

Off Bombay Coast, Thursday, 31st December.—'Went a little way out of our course to-day to look at the harbour of Karwar, which it is proposed to form into a cotton port by a railway across the Ghâts. There does not seem much protection from the sea at present, although a short breakwater might make it a good little harbour. It is the only place of refuge along the coast in the south-west monsoon; but the native traffic is located at Kúmti, and it might be very hard to remove it.'

Beypur, Friday, 1st January 1869.—'Cast anchor at Beypur about 5 P.M. Lord Napier [of Ettrick and Merchistoun, then Governor of Madras] received us at the end of a covered way which was adorned with flowers and the 'fibres of the cocoa-nut tree. At the railway station we were introduced to a number of the officers of the Madras Government. At 10 o'clock started by special train for Madras. By moonlight I occasionally got glimpses of the scenery, which appeared to be very beautiful.'

Rail to Madras, Saturday, 2d January.—'Stopped at Salem for breakfast, and at another station within an hour of Madras, where we dressed. Arrived in Madras about 5 P.M., and were received by a large portion of the official population and a guard of honour. We drove through the main streets, lined by troops. The natives appeared in enormous num-

bers. They were crammed on each side of the street as close as they could stand for the distance of nearly a mile. Drove along the esplanade to Guindy Park [the suburban Government House], where we were received by Lady Napier with great cordiality and welcome. There was a large dinner-party, consisting mainly of officials.'

Madras, Sunday, 3d January.—'Rode out at 5.30 A.M. to see the model farm. Met Colonel Vane, Mr. Hunter Blair, and Mr. Dallzell. Went to church to the Cathedral at 11 o'clock, and afterwards walked with Lord Napier through the Horticultural Gardens, where there was a good collection of flowering shrubs and plants, the greater number of which are well known in our hothouses. Had a long talk after dinner on public works and irrigation with the heads of those departments. They brought their plans and maps, showing how completely dotted over with tanks the greater part of the Madras Presidency is.'

Madras, Monday, 4th January.—'Went out hunting in the morning. Had a short run of about five minutes with a fox; and afterwards a run of about twenty-five minutes with a jackal. A large number of people were present; and considering that the thermometer was at 80°, the hounds, which had just come from England, ran remarkably well. In the middle of the day drove into Madras and visited the Monegar Chaultri,—an admirable institution of the nature of an almshouse, unpretending, well managed, and perfectly suited to its object. Visited the Lock Hospital, a new institution, which appeared

to be very well conducted ; also the General Hospital, which is an immense building, and contains a large military department, with an excellent school of medicine. Went to see the gaol, which is clean, well managed, and seems to be conducted very fairly. There is a good deal of industrial work going on, but there is no reformatory treatment, and the construction of the building renders nightly supervision impossible. Received a visit of ceremony from Azim Jah, ex-Nawab of the Carnatic. He is an elderly man and extremely gentlemanly. I decorated him with a garland of flowers, and sprinkled him with otto of roses in the usual way. A dinner-party and reception at Guindy Park, at which I was presented to an enormous number of people.'

Madras, Tuesday, 5th January. — 'Went in the morning to the races ; they were only middling. There was a steeplechase which comprised an artificial brook, a wall, and an aloe hedge. In the middle of the day received a deputation of the merchants of Madras who read an address : I replied. In the afternoon visited Fort St. George, in which all the public buildings are situated. Saw the Council-Room and the old church, wherein are some of the oldest British tombs found in India. I afterwards visited the barracks, where the 45th Regiment, just returned from Abyssinia, is quartered. The barracks are very good but not on the new scale. The married men's quarters are also good, and the men are well supplied with reading-rooms, gymnasia, etc. Afterwards passed through the armoury, which is filled with antique guns.

and a number of old regulation muskets. Went to the club. A large ball in the banqueting-hall at [the town] Government House, and a display of fireworks which lasted nearly an hour. Azim Jah was present, and about four hundred of the official class. Lord Napier [of Ettrick, the Governor of Madras] made an excellent speech in proposing the Queen's health. Did not get home till 2.30 in the morning.'

Wednesday, 6th January.—'Started at 5.30 A.M. to see the Red Hills Tank which is being enlarged, in order to yield additional irrigation and a supply of water for Madras. On our return to Madras we drove through the People's Park. Had a conversation with Colonel Wilson on the proceedings and movements of the Carnatic family. Went to see the mosque, and returned to Guindy [the house usually occupied by the Governor, a few miles from Madras], where we arrived about two o'clock, and found a large number of elephants and camels with a company of jugglers, that had been sent by the Commissariat for our amusement. Had a long talk with Mr. Arbuthnot on the decentralization of finance, the officering of the police, and the position of the native army. At one o'clock in the night we left Guindy, greatly pleased with the hospitable and cordial reception we met with. Nothing could exceed Lord and Lady Napier's kindness; and during our short time I managed to see a great deal. Embarked in the *Feroze*. The pier is partly broken down, and we went across a large chasm in a sort of basket attached to wire ropes. Though there was very little surf, we had some

difficulty in getting into the *masûla* boat which took us on board, being obliged to watch our opportunity and jump in off the steps when the wave passed. However, we all got on board in safety, and sailed immediately.'

Madras to Calcutta, Friday, 8th January.—'Paid the penalty of my imprudence and over-exertion at Madras, being attacked sharply by fever this morning.'

Bay of Bengal, Saturday, 9th January.—'Nothing better to-day. Cannot sleep, and have completely lost my appetite.'

Húglí River, Sunday, 10th January.—'A little better this afternoon. Made the lightship off the mouth of the Húglí (Hooghly) about 3 P.M. Took a pilot on board, and anchored at Ságar Island about ten. The pilot brought us some letters, and also a programme of our reception on Tuesday.'

Monday, 11th January.—'Much better this morning, but still very weak, and quite unfit for work of any kind. Weighed anchor about eight, and steamed up the Húglí to Diamond Harbour which we reached about one o'clock, and where we remain for the present.'

Approaching Calcutta, Tuesday, 12th January.—'Moved upwards from Diamond Harbour about eleven o'clock. After a short time met the *Sir William Peel*, with Mr. Gordon [Private Secretary to Sir John Lawrence], Colonel Sir Seymour Blane [his Military Secretary], and the secretaries of the different departments,—Mr. Clive Bayley [Home Secretary to the Government of India], Mr. Seton Karr [Foreign

Secretary], and Colonel Norman [Military Secretary],—on board. Cast anchor at Chandpal Ghât [at Calcutta] about 4.30 P.M., where an immense number of people were waiting for us. We landed in the Governor-General's barge, and were received by the Sheriff, Commissioner of Police, etc. Salutes were fired, and "God Save the Queen" played. The streets were lined with troops the whole way up to Government House. On the steps, which were covered with all the principal officials of Calcutta, we were received by Sir John Lawrence [the Viceroy], Sir Donald M'Leod, Sir William Muir, Sir William Mansfield, and the other members of Council. I walked straight with Sir William Mansfield [Commander-in-Chief] and the members of Council into the Council-Room, where I was immediately sworn in, and took my seat at the Board. There was a large dinner-party in the evening, given by Sir John Lawrence.'

Lord Mayo was now Viceroy of India, and it seems best that direct quotations from his private diary should cease. The materials which it yields will not, however, be neglected. Those already given suffice to show Lord Mayo exactly as he was—a genial, many-sided man, capable of great fatigue of body and mind; getting on well with all sorts of people; a keen, if not always a quite accurate, observer; constantly anxious to learn, and endowed with the prehensile faculty for facts. He carried a robust power of enjoyment, together with a certain intensity of nature, alike into his work and his play.

The reception of a new Viceroy on the spacious

flight of steps at Government House, and the handing over charge of the Indian Empire which immediately follows, forms an imposing spectacle. On this occasion it had a pathos of its own. At the top of the stairs stood the wearied veteran Viceroy, wearing his splendid harness for the last day; his face blanched and his tall figure shrunken by forty years of Indian service; but his head erect, and his eye still bright with the fire which had burst forth so gloriously in India's supreme hour of need. Around him stood the tried counsellors with whom he had gone through life, a silent calm semicircle in suits of blue and gold, lit up by a few scarlet uniforms. At the bottom, the new Governor-General jumped lightly out of the carriage, amid the saluting of troops and glitter of arms; his large athletic form in the easiest of summer costumes, with a funny little coloured neck-tie, and a face red with health and sunshine. As he came up the tall flight of stairs with a springy step, Lord Lawrence, with a visible feebleness, made the customary three paces forward to the edge of the landing-place to receive him. I was among the group of officers who followed them into the Council Chamber; and as we went, a friend compared the scene to an even more memorable one on these same stairs. The toilworn statesman, who had done more than any other single Englishman to save India in 1857, was now handing it over to an untried successor; and thirteen years before, Lord Dalhousie, the stern ruler who did more than any other Englishman to build up that empire, had come to.

the same act of demission on the same spot, with a face still more deeply ploughed by disease and care, a mind and body more weary, and bearing within him the death which he was about to pay as the price of great services to his country. In the Chamber, Sir John Lawrence and his Council took their usual seats at the table, the chief secretaries stood round, a crowd of officers filled the room, and the silent faces of the Englishmen who had won and kept India in times past looked down from the walls. The clerk read out the oaths in a clear voice, and Lord Mayo assented. At the same moment the Viceroy's band burst forth with 'God Save the Queen' in the garden below, a great shout came in from the people outside, the fort thundered out its royal salute, and the 196 millions of British India had passed under a new ruler.

In the evening, at a State dinner given by Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayo appeared in his viceregal uniform, the picture of radiant health. His winning courtesy charmed and disarmed more than one official who had come with the idea, derived from the attacks in the English partisan newspapers, that he would be unfavourably impressed by the new Governor-General. As Lord Mayo moved about in his genial strength, people said that at any rate Mr. Disraeli had sent out a man who would stand hard work. And it would be a good thing to set a precedent of an English statesman going through the Indian Viceroyalty without dying of it. At least this formed the talk of one little group, as they loitered homewards after dinner by the Secretary's Walk, smoking their cheroots under the

tropical stars, while their broughams trailed along the road outside. For the Viceroyalty had, during the past thirty years, proved a most homicidal office. Between 1835 and 1872, in less than forty years, the office had changed hands ten times. Yet at this moment (1874), with the exception of the civilian Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, not a single one survives of the quick succession of men who have held the Governor-Generalship of India. Lord Lawrence's three predecessors, Lord Elgin, Lord Canning, and Lord Dalhousie, had each died of the climate or the work. If this went on much longer, no English public man of fair ability would accept the post. It was well, therefore, that the new Lord looked so tough. Thus men talked on the moonless night of the 12th of January 1869, as they strolled home across the great Calcutta plain; Government House still ablaze at all its windows behind, the Fort and forest of tall masts on the right, and on the left the long line of mansions stretching stately and white in the starlight, till they lost themselves among the foliage topped by the Cathedral spire at the far end of the expanse. Meanwhile the veteran Viceroy had put off his harness for the last time, and a new man had entered on the office which ennobles and kills its holders.

CHAPTER V.

LORD MAYO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION—FOREIGN
POLICY. [1869-72, *Æt.* 47-50.]

LORD MAYO'S journey had brought him into personal contact with many of the administrators whom he was henceforth to deal with officially from a distance. It had also disclosed to him the general aspects of the Provinces over which he was to rule. Before the end of his first year he very nearly completed the circuit of India, covering 5666 miles of his dominions by steamer, rail, or on horseback. He thought it expedient, in a great empire made up of many countries geographically distinct, peopled with widely different races, and governed by separate systems of administration, that he who ruled the whole from the centre should know something personally of each part. During his three years in India (20th December 1868 to 8th February 1872), he travelled 21,763 miles; sometimes riding sixty to eighty-six miles a day in a tropical climate, and pushing forward by every sort of conveyance known to civilised or uncivilised nations, from the river-steamer and hand-shoved trolley on unfinished railways, to the camel of the Panjáb, the elephant of Eastern

Bengal, the yâk or riding-cow of the Himálayas, and the inflated buffalo-skins of the Indus. But he most carefully separated the information which he gathered on such journeys from the more exact knowledge on which he based his public measures.

On this subject of Lord Mayo's tours I shall afterwards write more in detail. It will here be sufficient to say that, while Lord Mayo placed a high value on seeing the salient characteristics of the different provinces with his own eyes, and on the sympathetic accord which his visits brought about between himself and the local administrators or the native chiefs, he never for a moment overrated the experience thus gained. As the Councillor who knew him best (Sir John Strachey) has written: 'No one could be less inclined than Lord Mayo to assume that, because he had galloped through a District or Province, he had gained a real insight into its character or wants. But nothing was more remarkable in him than the power with which he was able rapidly to accumulate a mass of valuable information, to learn the opinions of the most competent men, to gain their confidence and friendship, and to store up everything in his memory until the time came for turning it to useful account. Even when he seemed to be thinking of pleasure only—and no one had a greater capacity for every honest and manly enjoyment—he was always learning.'

At Bombay he had landed on that narrow country between the mountains and the sea which formed the theatre of some of the earliest and most brilliant episodes of English daring in India. To win and

to hold a strip of territory on the Levant, smaller in area, far less populous, and defended by a more meagre force, mediæval Europe had sent out army after army in vain. . . What the joined chivalry of Christendom failed to accomplish at their own doors, Englishmen had succeeded in doing on the other side of the globe. All round the Indian coast are strewn the wrecks of similar efforts by the rival nations of Europe,—Dutch, Danes, French, and Portuguese. From Bombay, with its thronged university, busy wharves, and high-pressure mercantile life, the railway carried him in a few hours to the foot of the gigantic escarpment, two thousand to seven thousand feet in height, which walls in Western India from the sea. But the volcanic battlements of trap and laterite that had stayed the march of races and languages from within, and which no foreign armies but our own have escalated from without, had become, shortly before Lord Mayo's visit, a highway of commerce. The train stopped a little time at the bottom, as if to take breath, and then calmly and irresistibly climbed its way into the gorge, sidled up long ledges hewn out of the precipices, pierced through the rocks, and came forth panting and smoky, but ever higher and higher, till it reached the summit. On the plateau above, Lord Mayo found himself in the country of the Marhattás, one of the historical soldier-races of the world. Half a century ago, each man among them was a trooper; and at this day, the standing petition of a Marhattá feudatory to the Suzerain Power is for arms of precision for his bodyguard. In the crowded streets, and

amid the many-coloured streaming life of Púna, the Viceroy-elect saw the same people subsided into keenly industrious artisans and shrewd capitalists under British rule.

Returning to Bombay, he sailed down the coast. He passed the seat and centre of Portuguese greatness in India, Goa, a little patch of territory wedged in between two British districts and the sea. The ship steamed on without stopping; but no Indian administrator can look towards that scene of fallen greatness, or read its story, without carrying away a lesson that may well last him for life. Its history goes back only a few hundred years, yet it has left three separate capitals behind—each a memorial of a different type of human necessities and aspirations. The Portuguese built their first city as a stronghold of military rule. Its massive walls and its deep-dug moats now lie alike level with the ground. The interiors of its fortresses and civic mansions can only be traced by the squareness of the rice-fields and palm-groves which cover their sites. Not a single building remains, except the monastery on the cliff, where an aged native prior mumbles through his primes and vespers to two acolytes of his own colour. The second capital was fixed about fifteen miles to the north upon the chief river, as the administrative and ecclesiastical metropolis of Portuguese India. It belonged to the time of wealth, between the first perils of conquest and the quick-coming period of decay. But the river silted up and malaria smote the town. It is now a city of disendowed churches and grass-grown.

streets, silent and desolate, with a few native clergy sunning themselves in their cloisters, or creeping with feeble steps and bent shoulders from their cells to their chancels. In one noble Christian temple, one of the two or three where service is still kept up, I suddenly became aware of that feeling of spacious height which the memory associates with Michael Angelo's towering creation at Rome. A father presently explained that it was an exact model, and on no unworthy scale, of St. Peter's. Another church, in a monastery whither the Governor occasionally resorts for change of air from New Goa, contains the bones of St. Xavier. They repose on a lofty shrine, shrouded by curtains of velvet and gold, in a silver coffin entablatured with the saint's miracles. One felt transplanted to mediæval Europe as the prior told of the wonders wrought at the tomb of a missionary whom, even in life, according to the local legends, a cloud from heaven had once rapt away from the wrath of man, and who could pass over the Indian Ocean as his Master had walked upon the Sea of Galilee. Every church and monastery had its pictures of Saint Catherine, as she led the Christian soldiers to the storming of the city gate, visibly transfixing a prostrate pagan with her two-handed sword, a *gloria* around her head, and her wheel, conventionalized into something like Britannia's shield, at her feet. The third and latest Goa (Pánjim) was built for purposes of commerce at the river's mouth. The stranger looks down from an overhanging height on its rows of red-tiled houses, its Place and Italian church and Governor's house, the fort

on a volcanic promontory towards the sea, and the mountains rising into the perpetual sunshine in the far East. Towards them the river trails its expanse of water past cocoa-nut islands and heights crowned with white monasteries or churches, like a dream-scene of one of Purchas' pilgrims. But notwithstanding the estuary's deceptive breadth and beauty, its entrance has silted up, and the sole remnants of its trade were two old-fashioned ships, displaying the flag of Portugal from their high sterns, under the Governor's windows. The third Goa is as dead as a commercial town as the second Goa is dead as an ecclesiastical city, or the first Goa as a military stronghold.

A little farther down the coast, Lord Mayo entered a jungle-fringed creek which English enterprise is struggling to convert into a populous harbour. Volcanic islands stand as a breakwater in front; a spur from the interior mountains curves round the southern entrance, and opposes its sheer precipice to the monsoon. In this inlet of Kárwár, solitary and landlocked as the bight that received the worn-out Æneadæ, a few English firms have staked their capital and perseverance against the conservatism of native trade, which still clings to an almost open roadstead some distance off. As in every other place where Englishmen gather together in India, they demand many costly instruments of material development, and a railway to tap the cotton districts stands first among the modest wants of Kárwár. Lord Mayo heard everything the English merchants had to say, and kept his conclusions to himself.

At Beypur, Lord Mayo landed at the port where the railway system of Southern India debouches on the sea. The train carried him across mountains and table-land which, under every rule previous to our own, had been the hurting-ground of banditti and wild beasts, but which English planters are now covering with coffee-gardens, and English magistrates with courthouses and schools. At Madras he saw a genuine Indian city turn out its thousands to welcome him, and found a population among whom the Protestant form of Christianity has achieved its largest success, and done something to leaven the mass. The Hugli river disclosed to him that perennial struggle between the earth and the ocean which goes on at every Indian estuary. It is not too much to say, that in any but English hands its channel would have shared the fate of the other great Indian rivers, and become impassable for modern ships. It displays all the conditions of silting up in their most irrepressible form, and one reach of it is kept open by an hourly scrutiny, as scientific and as minute as a watchmaker gives to the repair of a fine chronometer. Calcutta impressed him by her stately calm, after the keener half-European activity of Bombay; as if the capital of India had only to sit placidly and receive the wealth which two of the richest river-systems in the world float down to her.

In Northern Bengal he came across the great cantonments — the lairs where the British power lies silent and almost unseen, but ready to rush forth at a moment along every spider-thread of the network of

railways which is now enveloping India. He also found himself among the races who had fought us as bravely as men could fight, and whose conquest was no triumph of superior valour, but of the British talent for bearing losses and going indomitably on. In the ancient cities of the North, the contrast between the old and the new stood out in its boldest relief. Everywhere the same streaming life, the same rich colouring, the same signs of material progress, and also the same memorials of dynasties and days of oppression which have passed away. No English Viceroy can look upon those wrecks of tombs and palaces, that great revenge of time on human pomp, when a district was harried for a royal feast, and the lives of twenty thousand men were consumed in raising the mausoleum over a princess' grave, without feeling his heart humbled and moved towards the people :

'And ye that read these Ruines Tragicall,
 Learne by their losse to love the low degree ;
 And if that Fortune chaunce you up to call
 To Honour's seat, forget not what ye be ;
 For he that of himselfe is most secure
 Shall finde his state most fickle and unsure.'

The English power in India struck Lord Mayo as a marvel of human labour. No Saint Catherine with two-edged sword appeared in any crisis of battle to lead our poor soldiers to victory. Yet they conquered for their countrymen an Empire such as never flitted through the dreams of Albuquerque or Dupleix. Their one art of war was to die freely. No Indian sea ever bore up the feet of an English apostle, nor have miracles been wrought at any Protestant mis-

sionary's tomb. Yet a great slow growth of Christianity of the English type disclosed itself to the new Viceroy in every Province. But what impressed him most was the purely civil character of the administration. A firm basis of military force existed, but it lay out of sight, and formed no part of the actual system of government. He liked and admired the men who held that vast congeries of conquered and feudatory races, more numerous than all the nations of Europe, Russia excepted, by purely peaceful means. One who accompanied him on this and later journeys thus writes :—' He was much struck with the earnestness of all with whom he came in contact; and afterwards, when the heavy responsibilities of Government descended on him, he never ceased expressing his appreciation of the support which he received, and of contrasting the singleness of purpose which guided the acts of men working for a common end in India, with the rough difficulties of political life in England.'

Lord Mayo took his oaths as Viceroy on the 12th January 1869. The mechanism of the Supreme Government of India consists of a Cabinet, with the Governor-General as an absolute President, subject to the distant authority of the Secretary of State in England, and directly controlling the twelve Provincial Governments and the 153 Native States of India. Every order runs in the name of the President and the collective Cabinet, technically the 'Governor-General in Council.' And under the Company every case actually passed through the hands of each Member of Council, circulating at a snail's pace in little

mahogany boxes from one Councillor's house to another. 'The system involved,' writes a former Member of Council, 'an amount of elaborate Minute writing which seems now hardly conceivable. Twenty years ago the Governor-General and the Council used to perform work which would now be disposed of by an Under-Secretary.' Lord Canning found that, if he was to raise the administration to the higher standard of promptitude and efficiency which now obtains, he must put a stop to this. He remodelled the Government 'into the semblance of a Cabinet, with himself as President.'¹ Each member of the Supreme Council practically became a Minister at the head of his own Department, responsible for its ordinary business, but bound to lay important cases before the Viceroy, whose will forms the final arbitrament in all great questions of policy in which he sees fit to exercise it. 'The ordinary current business of the Government,' writes Sir John Strachey, 'is divided among the members of the Council, much in the same manner in which, in England, it is divided among the Cabinet Ministers, each member having a separate Department of his own.' The Governor-General himself keeps one Department specially in his own hands, generally the Foreign Office; and Lord Mayo, being insatiable of work, retained two, the Foreign Department and the great Department of Public Works. Various changes took place in the Supreme Government even during his short Viceroyalty, but the fol-

¹ 'Foreign Policy of Sir John Lawrence,' *Edinburgh Review*, January 1867 (by the late Mr. John Wyllie, C.S.I.).

lowing represents the *personnel* of his Government as fairly as any single view can :—

DEPARTMENT.	MEMBER OF COUNCIL.	CHIEF-SECRETARY.
I. Foreign Department	THE VICEROY.	Mr. C. U. Aitchison, C.S.I.
II. Public Works Department	THE VICEROY.	Divided into branches.
III. Home Department	Hon. Barrow Ellis.	Mr. E. Clive Bayley, C.S.I.
IV. Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce	Hon. Sir J. Strachey, K.C.S.I.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B.
V. Financial Department	Hon. Sir R. Temple, K.C.S.I.	Mr. Barclay Chapman.
VI. Military Department	Major Genl. the Hon. Sir H. Norman, K.C.S.I.	Colonel Burne.
VII. Legislative Department	Hon. Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C.	Mr. Whitley Stokes.

Lord Mayo, besides his duties as President of the Council, and final source of authority in each of the seven Departments, was therefore in his own person Foreign Minister and Minister of Public Works. The Home Minister (No. III.), the Minister of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (No. IV.), and the Finance Minister (No. V.), were members of the India Civil Service, along with the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries in those and in the Foreign Department. Of the other two Departments, the

Military (No. VI.) was presided over by a distinguished soldier, and the Legislative (No. VII.) by an eminent member of the English Bar. Routine and ordinary matters were disposed of by the Member of Council within whose Department they fell. Papers of greater importance were sent, with the initiating Member's opinion, to the Viceroy, who either concurred in or modified it. If the Viceroy concurred, the case generally ended, and the Secretary worked up the Member's note into a Letter or a Resolution, to be issued as the orders of the Governor-General in Council. But in matters of weight, the Viceroy, even when concurring with the initiating Member, often directed the papers to be circulated either to the whole Council, or to certain of the Members whose views he might think it expedient to obtain on the question. In cases in which he did not concur with the initiating Member's views, the papers were generally circulated to all the other Members, or the Governor-General ordered them to be brought up in Council. Urgent business was submitted to the Governor-General direct by the Secretary of the Department under which it fell; and the Viceroy either initiated the order himself, or sent the case for initiation to the Member of Council at the head of the Department to which it belonged.

This was the paper side of Lord Mayo's work. All orders issued in his name. Every case of any real importance passed through his hands, and either bore his order, or his initials under the initiating Member's note. Urgent matters in all the seven Departments,

went direct to him in the first instance. He had also to decide what cases could be best disposed of by the Departmental Member and himself, and what ought to be circulated to the whole Council or to certain of the Members. In short, he had to see, as his orders ran in the name of the Governor-General in Council, that they fairly represented the collective views of his Government. The 'circulation' of the papers took place, and still does, in oblong mahogany boxes, airtight, and fitted with a uniform Chubb's lock. Each Under-Secretary, Deputy-Secretary, Chief-Secretary, and Member of Council gets his allotted share of these little boxes every morning; each has his own key; and after 'noting' in the cases that come before him, sends on the box with his written opinion added to the file. The accumulated boxes from the seven Departments pour into the Viceroy throughout the day. In addition to this vast diurnal tide of general work, Lord Mayo had two of the heaviest Departments in his own hands, as Member in charge of the Foreign Office and of Public Works.

The personal aspects of the Viceroy's duties divide themselves into three branches. Every week he personally meets, in the first place, each of his Chief-Secretaries; in the second place, his Viceregal or Executive Council; and, in the third place, his Legislative Council. Each of the seven Secretaries has his own day with the Governor-General, when he lays before His Excellency questions of special importance, answers questions connected with them, and takes his orders touching any fresh materials

to be included in the file of papers before circulating them.

The Viceroy also gives one day a week to his Executive Council, consisting of the Executive Ministers or 'Members of Council' mentioned on p. 191, with the Commander-in-Chief as an additional member. In this Oligarchy all matters of Imperial policy are debated with closed doors before the orders issue; the Secretaries waiting in an ante-room, and each being summoned into the Council-Chamber to assist his Member when the affairs belonging to his Department come on for discussion. As the Members have all seen the papers and recorded their opinions, they arrive in Council with their views accurately matured, and but little speechifying takes place. Lord Mayo, accustomed to the free flow of Parliamentary talk, has left behind him an expression of surprise at the rapidity with which, even on the weightiest matters, the Council came to its decision, and at the amount of work which it got through in a day. His personal influence here stood him in good stead. In most matters he managed to avoid an absolute taking of votes, and by little compromises won the dissentient Members to acquiescence. In great questions he almost invariably obtained a substantial majority, or put himself at the head of it; and under his rule the Council was never for a moment allowed to forget that the Viceroy retained the constitutional power, however seldom exercised, of deciding by his single will the action of his Government.

In hotly debated cases the situation is generally as

follows. The Viceroy and the Member of Council in charge of the Department to which the case belongs have thoroughly discussed it, and the proposal laid before Council represents their views. These views have been sent round with the case to the other Members of Council, and 'noted' on by them. When the question comes up at the Council meeting, no amount of talking can add any new knowledge to the elaborate opinions which each of the Members has recorded while the papers were in circulation. Several of these opinions are probably in favour of the policy proposed by the Member in charge of the question, and supported by the Viceroy; others may be opposed to it. When the matter came up in the meeting of Council, Lord Mayo generally tried, by explanations or judicious compromises, to reduce the opposition to one or two Members, and these might either yield or dissent. The despatches to the Secretary of State enunciating the decision of the Government of India invariably mention the names of dissentient Councillors, and, if they desire it, append in full such protests as they may deem right to record.

To take a hypothetical instance. Supposing a frontier expedition had been decided on, and the Commander-in-Chief desired a more costly armament than was really needed. A Commander-in-Chief's business is to make the success of an expedition an absolute certainty, and to that end he is supported by two strongly-officered Departments—the Adjutant-General's and the Quartermaster-General's. The business of the Government of India is to take care that no

expenditure, not required to ensure success, shall be permitted. To this end the Commander-in-Chief's plans and estimates are scrutinized first by the Viceroy and his Military Member of Council, with the aid of the Military Secretariat, and are then considered in Council. The Commander-in-Chief is not necessarily an officer with a minute knowledge of the local facts; the Military Member of Council and his Secretaries are selected for their Indian experience. They are distinguished soldiers, but soldiers whose duty it is for the time being to deal with the financial aspects of war. Thus, it might possibly happen that a commander-in-chief demanded a costly equipment of elephants for a service which, as ascertained from the local facts, could be as efficiently and more economically performed by river-transport or bullock-train. Such a divergence of opinion would probably disappear when each side had fully stated its case in the papers during circulation; or at any rate a line of approach to agreement would have been indicated. If the question actually came up for discussion in Council, the Viceroy and the Military Member would be as one man, and they would in all likelihood have the Financial Member on their side. The Commander-in-Chief would have such of the other Members as had been convinced by his written arguments, or who deemed it right in a military matter to yield to the weight of his military knowledge, and to the fact that the direct responsibility for the operations rests with him. And that weight would tell very heavily. For the experience of Indian officials leads them to assume

that the man whose business it is to know what is needed, does, as a matter of fact, know it best. If the Viceroy saw that, after cogently stating his side of the case, a strong opinion still remained in the minds of the Council in favour of the Commander-in-Chief's plan, he would probably yield. On the other hand, if the arguments left no doubt as to the sufficiency of the counter-proposals by the Military Member and the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief would either withdraw his original scheme, or strike out some compromise.

Similar divergences might take place between two sections of the Council as regards the foreign policy of the Government, or the railway system, or a great piece of legislation, or in any other Department of the State. Each Member comes to Council with his mind firmly made up, quite sure that he is right, and equally certain (after reading all the arguments) that those who do not agree with him are wrong. But he is also aware that the Members opposed to him come in precisely the same frame of mind. Each, therefore, while resolved to carry out his own views, knows that, in event of a difference of opinion, he will probably have to content himself with carrying a part of them. And once the collective decision of the Government is arrived at, all adopt it as their own. Lord Mayo has recorded his admiration at the vigour with which each Councillor strove for what he considered best, irrespective of the Viceregal views; and at the generous fidelity with which each carried out whatever policy might eventually be laid down by the

general sense of his colleagues. It is this capacity for loyally yielding after a battle that makes the English talent for harmonious colonial rule.

Besides his personal conferences with each of his Chief-Secretaries, and the hebdomadal meeting of the Executive Council, the Viceroy devoted one day a week to his Council for making Laws and Regulations. This body, known more shortly as the Legislative Council, consists of the Viceregal or Executive Council, with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province where the Viceroy may be residing, and also certain non-official Members as representatives of the Native and European communities. The Viceroy presides. It seldom initiates measures; most of the laws which it frames come up to the Government of India from the twelve Provincial Governments in the shape of proposed enactments. They are first considered by the Viceroy and Legal Member, then circulated to the whole of the Executive Councillors, and decided on in the Executive Council before being brought before the Legislative Council as draft Acts. The Legislative Council next appoints a committee of its own members to consider each Bill, and after various publications in the *Gazette*, rejects, modifies, or passes it into law. The Legislative Council is open to the public; its proceedings are reported in the papers, and published from the official shorthand-writer's notes in the *Gazette*. The law-abiding nature of the English mind, and the attitude of vigorous independence which the Anglo-Indian courts maintain towards the Executive, render it necessary to obtain the sanc-

tion of a legislative enactment for many purposes for which an order of the Governor-General in his Executive Council would have sufficed under the Company. Indeed, almost every great question, of policy, not directly connected with foreign affairs or military operations, sooner or later reproduces itself before the legislative body. If all the official Members hold together, the Viceroy has an official majority in the Legislative Council. And as no measure comes before it except after previous discussion, and sanction by the Governor-General in his Executive Council, this represents the normal state of votes in the Legislature.

Lord Mayo was a rigid economist of time. Each day had its own set of duties, and each hour of it brought some appointment or piece of work mapped out beforehand. He rose at daybreak, but could seldom allow himself the Indian luxury of the early ride, and worked alone at his 'boxes,' till breakfast at 9.30. At 10, his Private Secretary came to him with a new accumulation of boxes, and with the general work of the day carefully laid out. Thereafter his Military Secretary (an officer of his personal staff, and distinct alike from the Military Secretary to the Government of India, and from the great Departments of the Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General under the Commander-in-Chief), placed before him in like manner the more special questions connected with the army. By 11 he had settled down to his boxes for the day, worked at them till luncheon at 2; and afterwards till just enough light remained to

allow him a hard gallop before dark. On his return he again went to his work till dinner at 8.30; snatching the half-hour for dressing to play with his youngest boy, or to perch him on his toilet-table and tell him stories out of the Old Testament and Shakespeare. About a year after his father's death, this little man repeated to me wonderful fragments from a repertory of tales thus acquired, his memory jumbling up the witches of Macbeth with the witch of Endor. There were few days in the year in which Lord Mayo did not receive at dinner, and not many in the week in which there was not an entertainment at Government House afterwards—a ball, or state concert, or private theatricals, or reception of Native Chiefs, or an At-Home of some sort or other. Whatever had been his labour or vexations and disappointments throughout the day, they left no ruffle on his face in the evening. He had a most happy talent for singling out each guest for particular attention, and for throwing himself during a few minutes into the subject on which each was best able to talk. 'There are few connected with him,' writes his Private Secretary, 'who do not remember the many instances of his leaving his room full of anxiety on some great impending question, and at the next moment welcoming his guests and charming all who enjoyed his hospitality, European and Native, by his kindness, joyousness, and absence of officialism.'

At first, Lord Mayo worked at night, carrying on the labours of the day long after his guests and household were asleep. But India soon taught him that her climate put limits even on a strongly-built consti-

tution like his own, and he had to give up the practice. It may be imagined that much accurate prevision was required to lay out the paper side of Lord Mayo's work described above, so as to render it as little as possible interfered with by the more personal functions of the Viceregal office. His interviews with each of his Secretaries, and the meetings of his Executive and Legislative Councils, were fixed for specified hours on certain days, and from the printed scheme no departure was permitted. But a large mass of ceremonial and personal business could not thus be laid out beforehand. One day it was a foreign embassy, or a great feudatory who had come a thousand miles with his retinue to pay his respects; another day it was the return visit of the Viceroy; a third day it was the laying of some foundation-stone; a fourth, the inspection of a local institution or hospital; a fifth, a rapid run upon a railway to see some new works, or examine a bridge across a deltaic estuary hitherto deemed uncontrollable by engineering skill; a sixth, the letting in of the water at the head locks of a canal; a seventh, a great speech as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, or some words of encouragement at the distribution of prizes at a college or school. No hard-and-fast scheme could provide for this multifarious aspect of his duties. But he looked (and looked with just confidence) to his Private Secretary to reduce the interference thus caused to his regular work to the minimum. Whenever the ceremonial permitted, he avoided an interruption of his day's work by giving up the hour for the

evening's gallop to it. The following table represents Lord Mayo's method of discharging such of the personal aspects of his office as could be subjected to definite arrangement:—

Monday, . . .	Foreign Secretary, . . .	4 p.m.
Tuesday, . . .	Legislative Council, . . .	11 a.m.
Wednesday, . . .	Home Secretary, . . .	11 a.m.
	Public Works Secretary, . . .	12 noon.
	Agricultural Secretary, . . .	1 p.m.
Thursday, . . .	Foreign Secretary, . . .	10.15 a.m.
	Executive Council, . . .	11 a.m.
Friday, . . .	Financial Secretary, . . .	11 a.m.
	Military Secretary, . . .	12 noon.
	Mail day, . . .	
Saturday, . . .	{ Free day, for arrears of the week and miscellaneous work.	

As already mentioned, Lord Mayo retained the Foreign Office and the Department of Public Works in his own hands. The Foreign Department of the Indian Government dates from 1784, when the increasing complications of the Company with Native States induced Warren Hastings to place it under a distinct branch of the Administration. It consisted of three principal divisions,—the Secret, Political, and Foreign,—and until 1842 bore the name of the Secret and Political Department.¹ The Secret branch comprised wars, negotiations, and missions; the Political dealt with Feudatory or Native territory within India; and the Foreign with the relations between the Company's Government and Asiatic States beyond India

¹ In this and the following three paragraphs, I avail myself of an able official *précis* drawn up by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, formerly Assistant Secretary in the Foreign Department.

or with European Powers. As the consolidation of the British Empire of India proceeded, the internal area under the Foreign Department contracted, and its business in connection with the external powers of Asia increased. Its present functions, however, still preserve the impress given to them by Warren Hastings ninety years ago, and may be conveniently represented thus :—

First, its domestic administration of newly annexed Provinces. When a Native State comes directly under British rule, its general management passes from the Foreign to the Home Department. But certain features connected with its administration remain under the Foreign Office.

Second, ' Political ' relations, or the supervision of the Feudatory and Native States within India.

Third, Foreign relations with external powers, such as Afghánistán, Eastern Turkestan, the Persian Gulf, Zanzibar, Ava. As a rule, the Foreign Department conducts this branch of its business through the Local Government which lies nearest to the external power concerned. Thus, its dealings with Afghánistán and bordering States take place through the medium of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb; those with Ava through the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; and till lately, the affairs of the Persian Gulf came through the local Foreign Office of the Government of Bombay.

In a brief sketch of Lord Mayo's Government, the first or domestic functions of the Foreign Office will be most conveniently embodied in the chapter which

deals with his internal administration. I shall confine myself here to the second and third aspects of the Foreign Department, namely, its management of the Feudatory States within India, and its transactions with Foreign Powers beyond the British frontier.

The Feudatory States within India number 153,¹ and their importance as compared with the British dominions in India may be illustrated thus. The whole Indian Peninsula, with British Burmah, contains an area in round figures of 1,500,000 square miles, with a population of about 250 million souls. Of this area, 900,000 square miles in round numbers are British territory; 600,000 square miles are under Feudatory chiefs. But the population of the British territory amounted in 1872 to 196,000,000, while that of the Feudatories was (as far as could be ascertained) only about 48,000,000. For the sake of easy recollection, and allowing for the increase since 1872, the population of British India may be taken at 200,000,000, paying a revenue of about 46 millions sterling to the Government; and the population of the 153 Feudatories at 50,000,000, yielding an income of about 15 millions sterling to their chiefs. The Feudatories are entitled by Treaty-rights to maintain separate and independent armies which now aggregate 315,000 men, with an artillery returned at 5,300 guns (1874). The British army in India, which has to watch these vast masses of troops, in addition to a

¹ This number does not, of course, include minor subdivisions. Thus, it takes the Province of Káthiáwár as a unit, while Káthiáwár is parcelled out into 187 petty states.

more or less warlike population of 250 millions, averages 180,000 men of whom only about 60,000 are Europeans.

The Feudatory Princes descend from many different races, and obtained their power by very various means. For the most part, they had been tributaries of the Delhi Emperor, although latterly more in theory than in fact. The Mutiny rent asunder the veil from before the shadowy Delhi throne, and disclosed the substantial authority of the Queen of England in its place. Her Majesty's relations with her Indian Feudatories formed a question of the first importance. In 1862 Lord Canning thus described the situation :—‘ The last vestiges of the royal house of Delhi, from which, for our own convenience, we had long been content to accept a vicarious authority, have been swept away. The last pretender to the representation of the Peshwá’ (the Marhattá over-lord) ‘ has disappeared. The Crown of England stands forward the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India, and is, for the first time, brought face to face with its Feudatories. There is a reality in the suzerainty of the Sovereign of England which has never existed before, and which is not only felt, but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs.’

Her Majesty's Government accepted the responsibility, and in place of the old heterogeneous claims which the Feudatories had possessed, created by patent a uniform title. The *Sanad* or Patent to the Hindu Feudatories runs thus : ‘ Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs

of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued; in fulfilment of this desire, this *Sanqd* is given to you, to convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognise and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourself or by any future Chief of your State, that may be in accordance with Hindu law and the customs of your race. Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagements thus made to you, so long as your House is loyal to the Crown, and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government. (Signed) 'CANNING.

'Dated 17th March 1862.'

A corresponding Patent (*mutatis mutandis*) was granted to the Muhammadan chiefs.

On this basis the Feudatory States still remain. Lord Mayo, as his own Foreign Minister, was personally responsible to the Indian Government for the right administration of a feudatory population of 50 millions, and a feudatory area of 600,000 square miles or two-thirds of the size of all British India. It would be unwise, in a brief narrative such as the present, to attempt anything like a detailed account of his management of each of the Chiefs; the more so as I shall have to go very fully into details when relating his policy in the third branch of the Foreign Department, which deals with external Powers. It must suffice to exhibit the general principles which

guided the late Viceroy towards his Feudatories, and then to select one or two individual instances illustrating the operation of these general principles in the concrete.

. And in exhibiting Lord Mayo's general principles towards the Feudatories, I shall confine myself, as much as possible, to his own words. He lost no opportunity of telling them, both in public and in private, that the sole desire of the British Government was to secure them in their rights, and in the full exercise of the authority which they inherited. . But he never allowed them to forget that the Queen's Government would not tolerate oppression or persistent mal-administration on their part. A single speech may serve to represent his whole personal dealings with his Feudatories. It is the one which he addressed to the princes and chiefs of Rájputáná, who had assembled to meet him in *darbár* at Ajmír.

'I, as the representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you, as you have often been told before, that the desire of Her Majesty's Government is to secure to you and to your successors the full enjoyment of your ancient rights and the exercise of all lawful customs, and to assist you in upholding the law and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land.

But in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this our fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath

your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of Rájputaná, justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property shall be secure; that the traveller shall come and go in safety; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour, and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you shall make roads, and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenues of your States; that you shall encourage education, and provide for the relief of the sick.

'Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we should say: Be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly. It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well-governed. It is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India; and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the people's good.

'I am here only for a time. The able and earnest officers who surround me will, at no distant period, return to their English homes; but the Power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England, year by year, to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of

affection and of peace. The days of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun.

‘Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way, and secure to your children’s children, and to future generations of your subjects, the favouring protection of a Power who only seeks your good.’

‘We see,’ wrote one of his Councillors after his death,—‘we see Lord Mayo in every line of this speech, the frank and courteous and enlightened gentleman; but, at the same time, the strong and worthy representative of the Queen, and the unmistakeable ruler of the Empire. Every Native Prince who met him looked upon Lord Mayo as the ideal of an English Viceroy. They all felt instinctively that they could place perfect confidence in everything that he told them; and their respect, I ought rather to say their reverence, was all the deeper, because, while they knew that he was their master, they felt also that he was their friend.’

In a private letter to one of Her Majesty’s Ministers, dated 23d November 1870, Lord Mayo pointed out some of the inevitable inconsistencies involved by the semi-independence which the British Government permits to its Feudatories. ‘Our relations with our Native Feudatory States are on the whole satisfactory, though they are by no means defined. We act on the principle of non-interference, but we must constantly interpose. We allow them to keep armies for the defence of their States, but we cannot permit them to go to war. We encourage them to establish courts of justice, but we cannot hear of their trying Europeans. We recognise them as separate Sovereigns, but we

daily issue to them orders which are implicitly obeyed. We depose them, as in the Tonk case, when the ruler commits or sanctions a grievous crime; or create an administration for them, as in the Alwár case, when the chief misgoverns and worries his subjects. With some we place political agents; with others we do not. With some, as with Jaipur, Bhopál, and Patialá, we are on terms of intimacy and friendship. Others, such as Dholpur and Alwár, we scarcely ever address, except to find fault with them for some gross neglect of duty. In fact, all our action with regard to these petty despotic States is governed by the circumstances of the time and the character of the ruler; and it must ever be so if we are to influence them for good. But many of them do not like it, and I have no doubt that some of them, especially — and —, and perhaps even —, would spend any sum to get a case against the Government laid before Parliament. It would be exaggerated in many respects, perhaps entirely false, but certainly plausible, and it would be uncontradicted for six months.'

Lord Mayo discerned, therefore, the evil as well as the good of our Feudatory system. He was often sorely hurt by the spectacle of Native mal-administration, which our principles of non-interference rendered him powerless to amend. He found that the system sometimes allowed of petty intermeddling, but often precluded salutary intervention—straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. His mind was attracted to the possibility of developing a scheme which would secure to the Indian Feudatories their present independence,

and at the same time arm the Suzerain Power with adequate checks on its abuse. For example, while he counted many warm friends among the Princes of the Rájput blood, the apathy and misgovernment of others of them stood as a barrier between him and the better government which he laboured to secure for the Rájput people. On the 7th February 1870 he wrote to a noble duke: 'In Rájputáná it will be seen that things are not in a satisfactory state. Improvement of every kind goes on very slowly. The power of the ruling princes over their lawless *thákurs* (barons) is not greater than it used to be; and though the *darbárs* (Native courts) pretend that they do what they can to suppress violence and banish crime, the treaty obligations and the regulations of the Paramount Power are frequently neglected or evaded. The remedy for this state of things is not to be found in the exercise by Political Agents of their great powers in an arbitrary and a dictatorial manner, by vexatious interference in minor matters, or by constant threats of deposition or sequestration of revenue. It is rather to be found in a policy which would exalt the dignity, strengthen the authority, and increase the personal responsibility of these families; and, at the same time, by showing them that that which they really value above everything, viz. the support of the British Government in securing the permanency of their rule, is only to be gained by the exercise of justice, by the certain punishment of crime, and the encouragement of those who support our recommendations. I believe that more is to be done with

these people by personal influence and oral advice ; by visiting them in the way they think most suitable to their dignity, and in conformity with ancient usage ; and by exalting them in the eyes of their subjects ; than by the best letter-writing or the wisest orders. .

‘While most parts of the Empire are rapidly advancing, they (Rājputáná and Central India) are going back. While we have weakened the authority of many of the Native Rulers by the establishment of the International Courts of Vakils and various other measures, we have given them no new source of internal power. The semi-independent *thákurs* or petty barons are more mutinous and insubordinate than ever ; at this moment, in Jodhpur, Alwár, and several of the smaller States, a state of chronic disorder prevails. Corruption and intrigue are as rife in several Courts as in the days of the Emperors ; female infanticide and many other of the old social evils prevail to an enormous extent, and there is all over the districts a vast amount of undetected crime.

‘To begin what must be the work of many, many years, an entire change of policy must be adopted. The present mixture of “*laissez faire*” and niggling interference must be abandoned, and the chiefs must be told what they will be allowed to do, and what they will not be allowed to do. But to commence all this, a *man* is wanted. Personal influence is still in India the most potent engine we have at our disposal. In fact, I find that no man who does not possess it has a chance of succeeding with a Native Chief.’ But while fully recognising the value of per-

sonal influence, Lord Mayo insisted that such influence should be exercised on principles intelligible to the Native Chiefs, and that the largest freedom should be left to them in the actual details of their administration, so long as that freedom was not abused into an instrument of misrule. 'Nothing is more injudicious,' he wrote, 'than perpetual meddling in the affairs of Native States.' In his personal and social relations with the Feudatories, he made them realize that the one path towards the Viceregal friendship was the good government of their territories. The Indian Foreign Office strictly regulates the official courtesies of a Governor-General to each Prince, and these regulations Lord Mayo accurately observed. But he made the Native Chiefs feel that beyond such State ceremonials there was an interior region of intercourse and kindly interest, and that this region was open to every one who deserved it, and to no one else. He led them to see that his friendship had nothing to do with the greatness of their territory, or their degree of political independence, or the number of jealously counted guns which saluted them from our forts. These considerations regulated his State ceremonials; but his private friendship was only to be won by the personal merits of their character. By his conduct he practically said to each: 'If you wish to be a great man at my Court, govern well at home. Be just and merciful to your people. We do not ask whether you come with full hands, but whether you come with clean hands. No presents that you may bring can buy the British favour; no display which

you may make will raise your dignity in our eyes; no cringing or flattery will gain my friendship. We estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your subjects at home. For ourselves, we have nothing to ask of you. But for your people we demand good government, and we shall judge of you by this standard alone. And in our private friendship and hospitality, we shall prefer the smallest Feudatory who rules righteously, to the greatest Prince who misgoverns his people.'

The Native Chiefs very soon understood the maxims which regulated his personal relations towards them; and the outburst of passionate grief that took place among them on his death proves whether the Indian Princes are or are not capable of appreciating such a line of conduct. As regards his public dealing with them, the three following principles, although never formally enunciated in any single paper, stand out in many letters and State documents from his pen:—

- I. Non-annexation, and a fixed resolve that even the misrule of a Native Chief must not be used as a weapon for aggrandizing our power.
- II. But a constant feeling of responsibility attached to the British Government, as suzerain, for any serious misrule in Native States; and a firm determination to interfere when British interference became necessary to prevent misgovernment. Such interference to consist not in annexing the territory, but in displacing the

- chief, and administering by British officers or a
 - Native regency in the interest of the lawful heirs.
- III. Non-interference, and the lightest possible form of control, with chiefs who governed well. Lord Mayo tried to make the Indian Feudatories feel that it rested with themselves to decide the degree of practical independence which they should enjoy, and that that degree would be strictly regulated by the degree of good government which they gave to their subjects.

I shall endeavour very briefly to show how Lord Mayo gave effect to these principles. I propose first to take a case in which, while recognising the necessity for reform, and the contingency of future intervention, he abstained from interfering. In the second place, a case in which, believing that interference had become a duty, he superseded the Native Prince, and appointed a British officer to manage the territory. The third example will be one of a well-managed State, whose ruler he honoured with his friendship.

The Province of Káthiáwár, with its 20,000 square miles,¹ and population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of souls, consists of 187 Native States, administered by a British Political Agent, who acts directly under the Foreign

¹ Exclusive of His Highness the Gaikwar's *mahals* in Umreilly and Okhá. I take my facts chiefly from the Political Agent's Report, dated 18th June 1873, together with documents prepared in the Foreign Office of the Government of India in 1866, and in the Foreign Office of the Bombay Government in 1870. I had also the advantage of personally visiting Káthiáwár in the cold weather of 1873-74. My obligations to Mr. Wyllie's Essay in the *Calcutta Review* of 1860 will be more specifically acknowledged.

Department of the Bombay Government, which, again, receives its policy from the Foreign Office of the Government of India. On the breaking up of the Marhattá power at the beginning of the century, the British Government fell heir, in conjunction with the Gaikwar of Baroda, to certain suzerain powers over Káthiáwár. At first it left the administration in the hands of the Gaikwar, and the sole interpretation which our ally gave to his duties was to collect the revenue. This process he effected by the *mulk-giri*, or 'circuit of the country.' Three or four thousand predatory horse were let loose at harvest-time. When they approached the territory of each little chieftain, it was the duty of the latter to have an accredited agent waiting on his boundary with the tribute. If the agent did not appear,—and as a matter of fact, the chiefs made it a point of honour to put off payment till compelled,—then the horse 'were thrown out on all sides, and the march of the army was thenceforth marked by every species of plunder and desolation. The ripe crops were swept from the fields, the villages were wantonly fired and destroyed.' This was the Gaikwar's universal rent-law, for with him, as with the Marhattás from whom he claimed, 'to collect revenue and to make war were synonymous.'

This process¹ proving offensive to his British friends, it was arranged that the latter should collect the revenue as best they could, making over to the

¹ It is described as above in an excellent essay in the *Calcutta Review* of December 1860, by the late John Wyllie, who had been assistant to the Political Agent in Káthiáwár, and who afterwards acted as Secretary in the Foreign Department during Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty.

Gaikwar of Baroda his share, and receiving from him for their trouble a body of subsidiary troops ('The Gaikwar's Contingent'), to be used either in war or in the administration of the Province. Arrangements, known as the Settlement of 1807, were made for the peaceful collection of the revenue, and on this basis Káthiáwár substantially remained till 1863. No army of mounted banditti was let loose at harvest-time, and the more violent forms of aggression and war between the States were repressed. But we interfered very gently with their internal administration of justice and police, and, practically, internal police and justice remained unknown. The weak found their sole redress in flying wholesale from their fields to other States; and the powerful adjusted their disputes by devastating each other's villages. In 1844 a landholder was tried by the Political Agent, sitting with several Natives of rank as assessors, and unanimously found guilty of three crimes, 'murder, arson, and robbery.' The mixed court sentenced him to a pecuniary fine and detention till he furnished security. The Bombay Government upheld the conviction, but reduced the fine, and ordered the prisoner's immediate release, with the remark that his conduct in the 'existing state of Káthiáwár called for a merely nominal punishment.'¹

Shortly after India passed to the Crown, a strong administrator, the present Colonel Keatinge, C.S.I., came to Káthiáwár, and a series of reforms, known as the Settlement of 1863, took place. In that year he officially declared that, 'up to the present time

¹ Mr. Wyllie, *ut supra*.

no State in Káthiáwár has any judicial system, any written law, or any recognised civil or criminal court.¹ He accordingly arranged the chiefs into classes, each class having specified powers of jurisdiction, and each State forming one of a group under the eye of a British officer, who sees that the chiefs do their duty. Chiefs of the first and second class exercise plenary jurisdiction, both civil and criminal; the judicial powers of the lesser chiefs are graded in a diminishing scale, the residuary jurisdiction being vested in four English officers, each superintending a group of States. The Political Agent controls the whole. As a rule, no appeal lies from the decision of a chief; but on presumption of mal-administration, his proceedings may be called for and reviewed.

This was the system which Lord Mayo found at work among the 187 States of Káthiáwár. He discovered that while it had produced some excellent results, it had failed to eradicate certain deep-rooted evils; and that five years of good government had not obliterated the effects of fifty years of British *laissez faire* and five centuries of Native misrule. He found many conflicting claims to the soil, and a number of ancient communities, each with a vested right in depredation. The 'ex-ruling classes,' representatives of old houses forcibly dispossessed, or of younger brothers of chiefs unable to live on their slender share of the inheritance; 'predatory tribes,' and 'dangerous communities,' whose hereditary means

¹ Political Agent's Circular to Chiefs of Káthiáwár, dated 4th September 1863.

of livelihood was plunder; 'aboriginal races,' penned into the hills by successive waves of invaders,—all these elements of anarchy still fermented in the population of Káthiáwár. Some venerable customs also survived. Litigants still retained their right of *bahir-watia*, literally, 'going out' against their neighbours. This method of adjusting suits for real property consists in forcing the husbandmen to quit their villages, while the litigant retires with his brethren 'to some asylum, whence he may carry on his depredations with impunity.' The time-honoured practice of *mohsul* also continued a part of the local civil procedure. Todd defines this method of enforcing justice as follows:—'When delay in these matters is evinced, an officer or herald is deputed, with a party of four, ten, or twenty horse or foot, to the fief of the chief at whose residence they are to take up their abode; carrying under the seal a warrant to be furnished with specified daily rations, till he is quickened into compliance with the demands of the Prince.' Formerly this process was 'the only accelerator of the slow movements of a Rájput chieftain,' but it disclosed a greatly diminished lustre in the Káthiáwár of Colonel Keatinge's reforms. Another ancient method of settling landed disputes had also left its traces. 'Downright oppression or denial of justice by a chief,' wrote Mr. Wyllie in 1860, 'is prevented by the operation of the old rule of Rájput hospitality, which the British Agency never allows to fall into abeyance. The cultivator can migrate into the lands of another landholder, who is then bound not

only to give him shelter, but to espouse his quarrel against his oppressor and to see it fought out in the British courts.' These venerable customs survived, with a lingering vitality, and the Gaikwar's Contingent wholly failed to perform the duties of an effective police. As lately as 1873, the Political Agent had still to devote a heading of his Annual Report to the *bahir-watias*, or gentlemen who were 'out' against their neighbours, although the term has now come to apply to a vulgar class. He complained that in all Káthiáwár, with its 20,000 square miles, he had only 89 police (besides the gaol and treasury guards) at his disposal. But, indeed, the multitudinous separate jurisdictions of the chiefs would have baffled the most efficient constabulary; for in the pursuit of criminals or gangs, 'as surely as a boundary is reached so surely does the hue and cry falter, and fall to recriminations with the servants of the next jurisdiction.'¹

Lord Mayo saw, therefore, many things in the Káthiáwár papers that came before him which he thought capable of further improvement. But he also saw that a vast amount of good work had been effected under the auspices of the Bombay Government during the preceding few years, and that that work was still bearing fruits. Had he lived, he intended to visit Káthiáwár, and the great question of reforming the Gaikwar's Contingent would have come up. But meanwhile, he contented himself with closely watching the progress of good government, and heartily acceding to all measures required for its

¹ Political Agent's Report for 1872-73.

development. One of the richest and most important States in Káthiáwár fell into the hands of a minor during his Viceroyalty. An experienced Native minister and a picked member of the Civil Service were selected by the Bombay Government as its joint rulers, and they quickly converted it into a model of prosperity and firm administration. Another measure in which Lord Mayo took a keen interest was the formation of a school for the sons of the chiefs. The rank of these boys had hitherto confined them to a private education, under the indulgent influences of the *Zanana*. Lord Mayo thought that, whether in Rájputáná or in Káthiáwár, it was vain to expect the chiefs to discharge their responsibilities as men unless they were properly trained as boys. Both in Káthiáwár and in Rájputáná a school for their education was established during his rule, and these Native Etons are now among the most promising institutions of their respective provinces.

Lord Mayo was not one of those reformers who think they can change the customs and habits of thought of a people in a day. He realized that the process by which an Indian State casts its old skin of anarchy is a slow one, and that the operation is not helped by perpetual interference from without. Where he saw real improvement going on, he was willing to wait. He thought, moreover, that until everything had been done to render the English surveillance in a Native State as efficient as possible, he had no right to complain of the chief. He held that the Suzerain Power was bound to see that the misrule of a Feuda-

tory arose in no part from a vacillating or weakly-officered British Residency ; and that before blaming a Native chief for governing ill, it was necessary first to see that the Indian Foreign Office placed him in the best possible circumstances for governing well. This view took a firmer hold of his mind as his Indian experience increased ; and being dissatisfied (as indicated on page 211) with certain matters in Rájputáná, he contemplated, not direct interference with the chiefs, but an improvement of the British supervision. He thought that the existing mechanism required strengthening, and (I quote the words of his Private Secretary) 'one of the measures which he wished to bring about was the amalgamation of the Central India and Rájputáná Agencies under a high officer of the Crown, with the status of a Lieutenant-Governor.'

But during his Viceroyalty, as during every other, cases of Native misrule, pure, simple, and incorrigible, took place. In such instances he did not hesitate to interfere in a manner that left no doubt as to the interpretation which he gave to his duties as the Suzerain Power. He kept his hands unstained by a single spot of annexation, but he made every Feudatory in India understand, that if he proved himself unfit to rule, the sceptre would be taken from him.

The State of Alwár lies in the north-east of Rájputáná, has an area of 3000 square miles, a population of 778,591 souls, an army of 7498 men, and yields a revenue of £200,000 a year to its chief.¹ It was

¹ I condense the following account of Alwár chiefly from the Political Agent's Reports during successive years.

founded in the latter half of the last century by a Rájput general, who carved a principality for himself out of the territories of Jaipur and Bhartpur. Subsequently it shared the fate of the Rájput States amid the Marhattá aggressions, accepted the British protection against them in 1803, and formed the scene of Lord Lake's great victory at Laswárl over the Marhattá race. Its chief was rewarded by an honourable alliance with the British, and by various districts which we had wrenched from the common foe. These honours were ill-repaid. The old leaven of the Rájput soldier of fortune broke out in raids upon neighbouring States and incessant feuds. On one occasion the Alwár chief seized two forts from the Jaipur prince, and held them till a British force was sent out against him. For this offence we fined him thirty thousand rupees. But fifty years of English surveillance had rendered Alwár a peaceful and prosperous State, and the Mutiny found its chief a loyal prop to the British power. Although stretched motionless on his bed with paralysis, the old man no sooner heard of our misfortunes than he hurried out the flower of his army, infantry, cavalry, and guns, to the aid of our beleaguered garrison at Agra. The force consisted partly of Muhammadans, and partly of Hindús of the brave Rájput stock. The Musalmáns deserted on the road, and joined a gang of our own rebel soldiers. When the tidings reached Alwár, the old Chief died. His successor was a boy, 12½ years old. He found the Court divided into two factions, the one consisting of the Hindu nobility of the State,

and the other of disaffected Muhammadans. The latter, by the usual arts, gained the young chief to their side. Anarchy and misrule set in, and the boy Prince, deserting his Rájput traditions; adopted Muhammadan manners and was about to contract a marriage with a Musalmán girl. The Hindu nobility rose, overthrew the Muhammadan favourites, and prevented the marriage. The English interfered, and placed the Government of the State under a Native Council of Regency. But the Chief still clung to his Musalmán favourites, and in 1859 headed a conspiracy to murder the Native President of the Council, and to expel the British Resident. The latter defeated the scheme, and, treating it as an error of an ill-advised boy, tried to win him to a better mind. But 'every effort, by close intercourse, by persuasion, by reproof, by leniency, by strict measures, failed.' In 1863 the youth attained his legal majority; the Native Council of Regency was abolished, and the Chief became thenceforward responsible for the government of his State. His first act was to wreak his vengeance on the President of the late Regency Council. Something very like civil war followed; a Court murder took place; the Chief fell deeper into the toils of worthless favourites, and squandered his revenues upon them. Under the supervision of the English Resident, a sum of £170,000 had been saved during the few years of his minority, and handed over to him when he came of age. This he quickly got rid of, sunk the State into debt, reduced the pay of the regular officials, and began the fatal course of resum-

ing hereditary holdings and religious grants. Meanwhile, to prevent a general mutiny, he disbanded fifteen of the eighteen Rájput troops of cavalry, whose fathers had won the State for his ancestors, and enrolled Muhammadans in their stead.

'This was the state of affairs in Alwár when Lord Mayo received charge of India. In March 1870 news came that the people in Alwár had risen, and that two thousand men were in the field against the Prince. 'So far as I can judge,' wrote the English Political Agent, 'nearly one-half of the Thákúrs (petty barons) of Alwár will be with the confederates, the other half lukewarmly with the Chief.' The latter suddenly found that his safety rested on the protection of the Suzerain Power, and the question of intervention had to be decided. A high adviser thought that probably it would be best 'to let the two parties fight out the dispute, and thus ascertain each other's strength.' On this suggestion Lord Mayo recorded his personal opinion as follows:—

'After carefully considering this case, I am of opinion that our interference is now become a matter of necessity. I must here express my dissent from the policy advocated in the letter of ———, which seems to imply, if the rule of a Feudatory Prince does not contribute to the contentment of the people, that that is no valid reason for our interference. Neither can I assent to the proposition, on the other hand, that if commotions arise in a Native State, the Chief can under no circumstances expect the assistance of the British Government in putting them down.

‘I hold a contrary opinion.’ Lord Mayo then enun-
ciated the three ‘leading features of his policy’ in
these words:—‘I believe that if in any Feudatory State
in India, oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness,
and vice are found to be the leading characteristics
of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the
Paramount Power to interfere, and that we evade the
responsibility which our position in India imposes
upon us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty,
if we allow the people of any race or class to be
plundered and oppressed.’

‘On the other hand, I am equally of opinion that,
should a well-disposed chief, while using his utmost
endeavours to establish good government within his
State, be opposed by insubordinate petty barons,
mutinous troops, or seditious classes of his subjects, it
is then our duty to support his authority and power.

‘Further, I believe that under no circumstances can
we permit in any State in India the existence of civil
war, and that on such an occasion as this it is plainly
our duty to interfere, at first by every peaceful means
which we have at our disposal; but that, in the event
of arbitration and mediation failing, it will be our duty
to stop by force of arms anything approaching to open
hostilities between large classes of the people and
their chiefs.

‘Having laid down these as the leading features
of the policy which I am prepared to recommend, I
invite the serious consideration of my colleagues to
the papers, with a view to determine how the arbitra-
tion or mediation, as between the Alwár Chief and

his rebellious Thákúrs, should be best commenced, with the object of bringing the matter to a peaceful and speedy conclusion.

‘I dissent altogether from the opinion that nothing would do more good in Rájputáná than the example of a successful revolt; and nothing will tempt me to stand by with folded arms and see in that uncivilised and benighted country State after State plunged into all the horrors and barbarities which are certain to accompany a Native civil war. As is well stated in these papers, whether Chiefs or Thákúrs are right, the burden of the war and all its severities will fall upon the cultivators, who probably know little of, and care less for, the causes of the quarrels.

‘I should like to find an officer of very high rank and great experience who could be sent to Alwár almost immediately. I cannot think there would be much difficulty in inducing the Mahárájá and the Thákúrs to consent to his arbitration. I think the confiscation of lands for the non-attendance of the horsemen was a harsh and unnecessary step.

‘I should therefore recommend that an arbitration be offered in such a way that it must be accepted, and that the Alwár Chief should be told that the arbitration cannot be limited in scope or amount; that a general inquiry should be held into the grievances of his discontented subjects, with a view to their remedy.

‘If I can find an officer of sufficient rank and experience to go down and arbitrate in this matter, I would be inclined to ask the Mahárájá of Jaipur to assist in

the arbitration. He is a member of our Legislative Council; though a Rájput of Rájputs, he is an enlightened prince, and I cannot but think that it would have a great effect in Rájputáná were we to call in, for the settlement of a very dangerous dispute, the assistance of one of the oldest and most respected of their own chiefs.

‘If the Mahárájá is asked to go, we can only associate with him an officer superior in rank to the Governor-General’s agent, and one with whom the Mahárájá could be properly asked to consult.

‘I would send this officer with such state and dignity as becomes his rank, with a large escort and a suitable camp.

‘Upon their joint report I would be inclined to act, without binding the Government absolutely to agree to and sanction all their proposals.

‘I think this could not fail to show that, while we are prepared to maintain peace and order at all hazards in Rájputáná, we are perfectly prepared to listen to all just complaints; and while putting down with a high hand rebellion and sedition, we are prepared to remedy all just and proved grievances.’

But misrule in Alwár was proceeding with too rapid a step to allow of so gentle a remedy. ‘All attempts,’ writes the Political Agent afterwards, ‘to effect a reconciliation between the Chief and the *Thákurs* (petty barons) having failed, the State having become bankrupt and the treasury empty, anarchy existing in every department, the most powerful portion of the subjects being in revolt, with more than half the State in their

possession,'—Lord Mayo presently took up the question with a firmer hand. The investigations which he then made present a terrible but too common picture of Native misgovernment. In 1863, when the Chief reached his majority, he received a cash balance of £172,287. In seven years he had not only squandered this accumulation, together with his whole current revenues of £200,000 a year, but he had got the State into debt to the extent of £160,000. The revenue was so forestalled, that the balance due for the whole year would suffice but for two months' expenditure; the Mahārājā having hit on the clever financial device of rewarding his creatures by 'orders on the harvest!' Some of the items of his expenditure will repay notice. Over £4000 a year were assigned to 'men whose sole duty it is to make *salāms* to the Chief;' over £5000 to singers and dancing girls; and £1900 to wrestlers. 'The Mahārājā manifests the utmost contempt of decency, drinking publicly with low Muhammadans, and getting drunk nearly every day.' The revenues formerly spent on the administration of justice and police had 'been devoted to the Chief's private pleasures.' 'Indeed, the Chief himself is on terms of intimacy with two *dakāit* leaders,' *i.e.* heads of robber gangs. He had confiscated the public lands assigned for the support of his troops, for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor—one of the latter grants being 270 years old. He had vindictively rejected the counsels of the English Political Agent, and of his hereditary advisers. Terms between the Chief and his insurgent nobility and people had become

impossible, and the latter now demanded 'either that each *thákur* (petty baron) may be made independent on his own estate and responsible to the Political Agent only, or that the Mahárájá may be banished from Alwár, and the State placed under British management during his lifetime.' If left to themselves, their 'object was to depose the Mahárájá, and place his infant son on the *gadi*' (state cushion).

Lord Mayo interfered to prevent so extreme a measure. He gave the Prince a last chance, by summoning him to name a Board of Management which would command the confidence of his people; and the Chief having neglected to do so, Lord Mayo himself issued orders for the creation of a Native Council at Alwár. The Council consisted of the leading nobility in the State, with the British Political Agent as President—the Mahárájá having a seat next to the President. Under the efficient management of this Board, Alwár speedily emerged from its troubles. The Chief received an allowance of £18,000 a year for his personal expenditure, exclusive of the permanent establishments required for his dignity as titular head of the State. These establishments included, among other things, 100 riding-horses, 26 carriage horses, and 40 camels, at the disposal of His Highness. The remainder of the revenue was devoted to paying off the debt, and replacing the administration on an efficient basis. Peace was firmly established; the courts were re-opened; schools were founded; and crime was firmly put down by an improved police. The Chief still clung to his favourites, and, so far as

his debauched habits allowed him to interfere at all, he interfered for evil. At a State darbar on the Queen's birthday, he publicly insulted his nobility. Lord Mayo, however, still adhered to his resolve to govern Alwár by means of its own Native Council, rather than by any expedient which might bear the faintest resemblance to annexation. 'I fear this young Chief is incorrigible,' he wrote early in 1871, 'but we must pursue the course of treatment we have laid down firmly and consistently. The whole action of this Chief is that of a mischievous and wily creature, who finds himself over-matched, tightly bound, and unable to do further harm.' Lord Mayo plainly told him that the only chance of 'his being ever freed from the Council' would depend on his showing 'symptoms of repentance, and a determination to reconcile himself with his subjects.'

When I quote the views of Lord Mayo by name, I mean that I cite his personal views, written with his own pen, or (as was his method of working) dictated to his shorthand writer. The following sentences embodied his final decision as Viceroy. The Alwár Chief is to 'be told that his duties as a ruler are not, as he seems to suppose, fulfilled by his abstaining from breach of his engagements with the British Government.' That he has duties to his subjects, by the faithful fulfilment of which alone 'can his rule be secured. That Government are prepared to support and strengthen, by all lawful means, the authority of every Chief who labours to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to establish in his State public justice and

public safety. But that the British Government will not tolerate, in any State of India, the continuance of a system of administration, which, by its oppression, wastefulness, and disregard of the feelings and rights of the people, leads to open hostility between the people and their Chief, and is dangerous to the general peace. He might be reminded that our interference was only decided on after patience and forbearance had been pushed to their limits. And he might be advised that he will best consult his own interests by ceasing vainly to hope that Government will be moved to recall the orders which have been issued, and by lending himself zealously to co-operation with his Council.'

But this amendment was not to be. The Native Council of Management went on with its work of improvement and reform. The Chief held himself sullenly aloof, and sank deeper and deeper into the slough of evil habits, until he died, a worn-out old man of twenty-nine, in 1874.

This was the most serious case of Native misrule during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, and the only one in which he had to push interference to the point of superseding the hereditary Prince. Another instance of mal-administration was visited with a severe rebuke, which the Chief resented, and refused to take his proper place at a Viceregal darbar in the seat below the head of the ancient Udaipur house. The offender was promptly ordered to quit British territory in disgrace, and was further punished by having his salute reduced from seventeen to fifteen guns.

It is only fair to the Indian Feudatories to add, that against these examples of misrule many instances could be cited of wise government and a high sense of duty. Lord Mayo gathered round him a circle of Chiefs whose character he personally admired, and in whose administration he took a well-founded pride. Of such territories, Bhopál may serve as an illustration. It is one of the six Feudatory States of Central India which exercise sovereign powers over their own subjects; has an area of 6764 square miles, a population of 663,656 souls, and yields a revenue to its Chief of £240,000 a year. Its army, besides a British Contingent which the Chief was bound to maintain by the treaty of 1818, amounts to 4000 men. This State was founded in 1723 by an Afghán adventurer, who expelled the local Hindu chiefs, built a fortress, and assumed the title of Nawáb. In 1778, when a British army under General Goddard marched through Central India, Bhopál stood forward as the one State friendly to our power. The Marhattá aggressions of the early part of the present century compelled it, like many other Indian States, to seek English aid. In 1818 it acknowledged the supremacy of our Government, was received into the British protection, and was rewarded by some valuable districts which we had won from the Marhattás. The Mutiny of 1857 found Bhopál under the government of a lady, the celebrated Sikandar Begam, whose wise administration had raised her State to a high rank among the Indian Feudatories. For her loyal services at that juncture she was created a Grand

Commander of the Star of India, and dying in 1868, left her territory to a daughter worthy of her blood. This Princess, at the time of her accession in 1868, was a widow of thirty-one years of age. She inherited her mother's firmness and good sense, with a rare aptitude for the duties of administration. During Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty she devoted herself to the measures of progress which the Viceroy pressed on every Feudatory Chief who came under his influence. She opened out roads, organized a system of public instruction, executed a survey of her State, reformed the police, suppressed the abominable but deep-rooted trade of kidnapping for immoral purposes, and improved the gaols. Lord Mayo received her in his capital with marks of distinction, and, on the occasion of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, presented her with honour to His Royal Highness. She carried back to her State the liveliest recollections of his hospitality and kindness, and the last few years of her rule have been conspicuous for good government and prudent administrative reforms. Among other things, she was much struck by the superiority of our coinage, and desired to assimilate her own more nearly to it. This always marks an advance in a Native State, as it facilitates commerce with external territories, and tends to free the ignorant classes from the extortions of the moneyers. The Begam further desired that the Queen's name should thenceforward run upon the Bhopál rupees. The Indian Foreign Office considers this an important end to be gained among its Feudatories, and Lord Mayo, in

supporting the measure, hoped that the 'little Begam' would lead the way, and set a good example.' Her administration has become a model to other Native States, and she was created a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, in recognition of her merits as a ruler.

Lord Mayo entertained very stringent views as to the duties of the Government of India towards the frontier tribes. He held that, while his Government was bound to preserve the peace of the border, it was bound to do so not by vindictive chastisements for raids committed, but by a more perfect organization of preventive measures. On this part of his policy I must confine myself to brief quotations from his personal notes on only two of the many questions which came before him. They will suffice, however, to illustrate his method of dealing with the whole. I shall first select a case on the North-Western Frontier of India, in which, after certain provocations, it had been locally proposed to deal with the mountaineers by means of a force to be kept ready to make reprisals at a moment's notice, in the event of future raids. Lord Mayo, after reviewing the recent events, thus declared his policy :—'The whole recommendation comes to this—that in the early part of spring a large force should be assembled at different points within the hills; and that this force, being placed absolutely at the disposal of the officers who believe that the burning of crops and the destruction of villages by British troops are indispensable to the maintenance of the peace of the frontier, should, at

the least appearance of robbery or raid, advance into the hills and commence the old system of devastation.' Lord Mayo then points out that such a force, acting on the moment, would be beyond the guidance of the Government of India, and that that Government 'might find itself involved in serious military operations, upon the character, justice, or necessity of which the Governor-General in Council never had an opportunity of expressing an opinion.' 'I object to authorize action which may cause such serious results.'

'No one can read ——'s letter without coming to the conclusion that there still exists in the minds of the local authorities an ardent though partly concealed desire for that avenging policy which the Government of India is so anxious to avoid.' Lord Mayo proposed 'to substitute, as far as possible, for surprise, aggression, and reprisal, a policy of vigilant, constant, and never-ceasing defence of those parts of our frontier which are by their position liable to be attacked by foreign tribes.' To this policy it had been objected that such a system of watchful defence 'must act as a constant menace to the tribes.' To this Lord Mayo replies: 'I cannot see the force of this objection. The presence of a policeman is indeed a standing menace to the thief; and a sight of the gallows may be a salutary reminder to the murderer. It is, I fear, too much the habit to adopt what is doubtless the view taken by the mountaineers themselves of these affairs. They look upon them as acts of war and justifiable aggression. We have to teach them that assassination, the attack of a defenceless

village by night, and killing people in their beds, are not acts of war, but are esteemed by civilised nations to be acts of murder. The sooner we teach these people this lesson the better. We have already taught it to millions who are less intelligent than the Patháns of the Hazará frontier.'

Lord Mayo's policy was to remove such crimes from the operations of honourable warfare into the jurisdiction of a strong armed police. To the objection that a raid, unless avenged by a military expedition, would impair 'our prestige on the frontier,' he answers: 'I object to fight for prestige. And even those who may still think that killing people for the sake of prestige is morally right, will hardly assert that the character and authority of the British arms in India are affected one way or the other by skirmishes with wild frontier tribes. But there are other considerations connected with the subject, of wider and greater import than the punishment of a few mountain savages, and the vindication of a local officer's prestige. Every shot fired in anger within the limits of our Indian Empire reverberates throughout Asia; gives to nations who are no friends to Christian or European rule the notion that amongst our own subjects there are still men in arms against us; and corroborates the assertion that the people within our frontier are not yet wholly subjected to our sway, and that British power is still disputed in Hindustán.'

He concludes by again insisting on a policy 'of constant vigilance and defence; the maintenance of

a force sufficient at threatened quarters to summarily punish the perpetrators of any act of outrage; the severest chastisement of all people caught in the act, treating them as persons engaged in murder, rapine, or robbery, and not in war.'

The other example which I shall cite of Lord Mayo's frontier policy will be taken from the opposite extremity of India, and it may seem at first to point to views different from the above. In 1871 the Viceroy sanctioned an expedition against the Lúshai tribes of the North-Eastern border. These races occupy the then *terra incognita* which stretches from the Káchár valley to the Chittagong District on the Bay of Bengal; and from Hill Tipperah on the west to the great watershed which pours its eastern drainage into the rivers of Burmah. As regards the event of the expedition, it may be briefly said that it was perfectly successful, and that, by the infliction of the smallest possible amount of temporary suffering, it introduced permanent order, and has created absolute peace in tracts which had been from time immemorial the haunt of rapine and inter-tribal wars. Lord Mayo, however, would have been the last man to claim any special credit for success in such operations. He looked upon success as a thing that should be absolutely ensured on the rare occasions on which the British Power has to send a force against unruly races. He used to say that it was the worst possible economy, and a most cruel abuse of our position, to deal inadequately or to employ insufficient troops in such a case; and that, while success was nothing to

be proud of, failure amounted to a public scandal. In these views he was supported, and on certain points exceeded, by the great soldier who at that time held the post of Commander-in-Chief in India. Lord Napier has never pretended to make war cheaply, and he took the most ample precautions that the force against the Lushais should be adequate to the work which it had to perform. Indeed, on some occasions Lord Mayo's Government had to put on the financial drag. But it is rather with regard to the general policy which should regulate such expeditions that Lord Mayo's notes deserve to be reproduced. After an exhaustive consideration of the whole circumstances of the case, and of our past relations with the tribes, Lord Mayo recorded his personal conclusions as follow :—

‘It is with great reluctance that I have to express the opinion that it will be necessary to send, in the ensuing cold weather, an armed force into the country of the Lushais.

‘The cruel raids that have been made for some years upon various parts of our territory, more especially on the tea-gardens in the Káchár District, and the very unsuccessful and inefficient means which have been hitherto taken for the protection of our frontier, together with the partial mismanagement and want of success which have attended almost everything that we have done, have doubtless imparted to these savages the impression that we are either unable or unwilling to take active measures, and to punish the perpetrators of such crimes. Having expressed this

opinion, it will be necessary to consider, first, what the character of the expedition is to be; and, secondly, the mode and means by which it is to be carried out.

‘I cannot think that the expedition ought to partake of the character of those which have, from time to time, been undertaken on the ‘North-West frontier for the chastisement of a particular tribe or clan. It does not appear that whole villages or whole tribes take part in these Lúshai attacks. It is difficult to trace particular raids to any particular tribes—the Howlongs, the Sylús, or others. . . . This state of things renders the precise object of the expedition rather difficult to define. It would be impossible to send a force into the Howlong country, for instance, with orders to burn right and left, destroy villages, and root up crops,—a course which might be justifiable if we were punishing an Akazái or Wazírí village.

‘I therefore agree with the Lieutenant-Governor, and am opposed to any measure of pure retaliation. If our advance into the country is met by opposition, our opponents must, of course, be severely punished. But besides this, it will be necessary to give the expedition a definite object; and here lies the difficulty. The restoration of the captives might be one; the infliction of a fine on certain villages whose inhabitants took part in the raids would be another; the carrying off of hostages as pledges of good behaviour, a third; the surrender of undoubtedly guilty parties, such as leading chiefs and others, who were known to

have taken part in the raids, a fourth ; the immediate destruction of any village, with the surrounding crops, which offered any resistance, a fifth. But the main object would be to endeavour to enter into relations of a permanent character with the savages ; to make them promise to receive in their villages, from time to time, Native Agents of our own ; to show them the advantages of trade and of commerce ; and to demonstrate to them effectively that they have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by placing themselves in a hostile position towards us. With this view, it will be necessary that the expedition should be attended as much as possible by chiefs belonging to friendly tribes, and such use must be made of their people and followers as the circumstances of the case admit.

‘ I am not disposed to hamper the present enterprise with the task of making a road, as has been proposed, from Káchár to Chittagong. The success of such an undertaking is very doubtful, and some objection has been taken as to its policy. A road of this kind must be protected ; and if its construction was resented by the tribes, it would be a perpetual source of anxiety and expense. On the other hand, if the road can be made with the consent and by the assistance of the tribes, it would probably be easily constructed, and kept open at a small cost and little risk. . . . I am therefore inclined to limit the operations for the present to the visitation, and, if necessary, the punishment, of a certain number of these tribes by an armed force. An expedition on such a scale as has been suggested, which would cost *ten lakhs* (£100,000), is

unnecessary. I should object to the movement of troops from a distance for this purpose. Police must be also very largely employed in keeping open the communications, and holding various stockaded posts.

‘ Everything must be ready for a start by the middle of November, or the 1st of December at latest, on both sides [of the Lúshai tribes who were to be visited], and the greater portion of the troops must be out of the country by the 1st of March. The affair should be conducted with as little parade, noise, and fuss as possible. It must not be looked upon as a campaign, for no formidable resistance is anticipated. It should be looked upon more as a military occupation and visitation of as large a portion of the Lúshai Districts as possible, for the purpose of punishing the guilty where they can be traced and found, but more particularly for showing these savages that there is hardly a part of their hills which our armed forces cannot visit and penetrate. According to my view, the operation should be conducted very much as Major Macdonald describes, namely, that small picked bodies of men should be continually in motion, keeping up communication with each other, showing themselves suddenly at different points, and so giving the Kúkis an idea that their country is invaded by a very much larger force than it really is.

‘ Having thus, as plainly as I can, though I fear not altogether so distinctly as I could wish, laid down what ought to be the objects of the expedition, and an outline of the mode in which it should be carried out, I

now request that the whole matter may be considered in the Military Department, and that the necessary arrangements may be submitted in full detail.

'It must be borne in mind,' he concludes, true to his policy of 'never-ceasing vigilance' on the border, as opposed to vindictive reprisals, 'that the protection of the Káchár frontier is not to be effected by these operations, but that a sufficient force of military and police must be posted for the protection of those Districts which were attacked last year.'

I have endeavoured to set forth in Lord Mayo's own words his policy to the Feudatory States within India, and towards the Frontier races. His dealings with the external Powers of Asia remain. But in entering on this part of my work, I find myself beset with a serious embarrassment. Lord Mayo's transactions with Russia, and the Asiatic States which lie between that great Power and India, formed the really important feature of his external policy, and any effort to truly tell the story of his work must not shirk this part of it. But many questions connected with it still remain pending, and public policy forbids me to use some of the documents which would best elucidate Lord Mayo's views. 'I would give much,' writes one of Lord Mayo's most trusted officers, 'to have been able to send you our correspondence with St. Petersburg and elsewhere, which show Lord Mayo's strong personal will, and his continued efforts in trying to develop a real policy. But we cannot for years make the smallest use, directly or indirectly, of such papers. This is one of the difficulties of an early attempt to

narrate the events of an Administration, but it cannot be helped.'¹

In the remainder of this chapter I beg, therefore, that the reader will understand, when I quote Lord Mayo's words, I mean them to be taken for what they are worth as his own views, without implying either that they were or were not the conclusions of the Government of India, or of Her Majesty's servants at home. My business is not to write the annals of the Indian Empire under Lord Mayo, but to discharge the humbler duty of a biographer. I shall enter into matters of history only so far as may be necessary to throw light on Lord Mayo's personal work. The India Government is in no way responsible for my views. Indeed, while in other branches of Lord Mayo's administration I have had the advantage of copious materials from the Secretaries and Members of Council, I have refrained from any communications with regard to the following pages of this chapter which might involve the Foreign Department even in a bare knowledge of what I have written.

And, first, as to the extension of the Indian frontier, it may be briefly stated that Lord Mayo sternly set his face against any proposals in that direction. He laid down no sounding general principles, nor did he

¹ Since this chapter went to press, Sir Henry Rawlinson's most valuable and able work, *England and Russia in the East*, has reached me (May 1875). Sir Henry Rawlinson's high position and long official experience warrant him in making a more searching use of the documents than I have ventured on. But while refraining from any attempt at further amplifications of what I had already sent to the printer, I have to acknowledge several amendments which his volume has enabled me to make in passing the proof-sheets.

fancy that any Viceroy could anticipate the necessities of the future, or map out unalterable lines of policy for coming years. But in his own time, and under the conditions with which he had to deal, he was resolved against frontier annexation in any form. A crucial instance was afforded by the disturbed condition of one of the minor trans-frontier States, which led to chronic disorders and raids upon our border. For some time a considerable party has existed in India who think that in this individual case the one permanent remedy is to mediatize the State, and to place it under the protection of a British Resident, supported by a force under the name of a strong escort. On a plan that had been submitted to the Supreme Government in this sense, Lord Mayo wrote as follows:—‘The proposal now is to occupy with British troops the —— and —— capitals. The occupation by a military force of these positions, though it does not involve the immediate possession and government of the country, is still a considerable advance in that direction. It would place us at once in a commanding position from which we could not retreat, and would necessitate the immediate posting within our frontier of a large supporting force. I am not prepared to say that the circumstances detailed in these papers do not justify such a step. But in our present relations with neighbouring States, and after the declaration that we have recently made, to the effect that we desire no extension of territory under any circumstances whatever, it is possible that our motives might be misconstrued, and endeavours might

be made to show that this step is not in accordance with our public professions.' Lord Mayo therefore fell back upon measures which could not be thus misunderstood, and which proved sufficiently effective.

The policy which he followed with regard to Frontier States was the precise counterpart of that which he insisted on with his internal Feudatories. As he told the latter in the plainest way, that, while he would be no party to annexation in any form, yet that he would take order that no misrule should be permitted; so he made every Frontier Power understand, that while he would keep his hands clean of any extension of our frontier, he would allow no aggressions or raids upon it. His policy was to prevent the necessity arising for armed interference, by a system of exact watchfulness over the causes which lead to it. In a letter to one of Her Majesty's Ministers, in which he discussed the views of those who would 'adopt a Thibetan policy, and discourage all communications with the outside Asiatic world,' Lord Mayo says: 'It is not a policy which is either English or commercial, and it is an impossible one if we are to maintain our position with the civilised world. No one works harder than I do to secure the Government of India against the necessity of, interference in the affairs of Foreign States. And it is because I believe that frank relations with our neighbours, and constant amiable communication with them, are the best securities against being one day or other forced into interference, that I have succeeded in teaching some, and will before long show to all,

that England's desire is that they should be strong and independent. That we shall always be willing to trade with them and advise them; but if, they choose to get into scrapes, quarrel amongst themselves, or fight with their neighbours, they must get out of their troubles the best way they can.' Elsewhere he writes: 'In countries where events march so fast, it is pedantry to lay down fixed rules of policy. We desire peace and non-interference; but at the same time we wish to maintain over our neighbours that moral influence which is inseparable from the true interests of the strongest Power in Asia. England cannot maintain a Thibetan policy in the East. It is a policy which must eventually lead to war. With Asiatics, a bold front is the first element of success; and a bold front can, I firmly believe, be well maintained without aggression or injustice, without foreign conquest or domestic tyranny. I am confident we are in the right groove. We may have reverses; we are sure to meet with disappointments; and risk is never absent from the British existence in the East. But I am sure that if we do not waver, our countrymen will ultimately recognise not merely the wisdom, but the success, of the course which we have pursued.'

In the autumn of 1868, while Lord Mayo was studying the leading questions in the India Office, a despatch from the Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, arrived, intimating that a new state of things had arisen in the great trans-frontier Power of Afghanistan. It announced that the Amír Sher Allí had finally established himself as ruler of that country, and had

been recognised by the Governor-General in Council. The change of policy which this despatch indicated may best be understood by a brief summary of Afghán affairs during the preceding thirty years. In 1838 Lord Auckland decided to interfere with a high hand in Afghánistán, with a view to dethroning Dost Muhammad, and establishing his rival, Sháh Shújá, in his place. The disasters which followed form the most inglorious episode of English arms in the East, and they have been sometimes interpreted as a lesson to England not to extend her operations beyond the Indian frontier, or to meddle with the affairs of Central Asian States. The vision of that skeleton army wasting in the snow, stands as a historical spectre, and waves off with its icy fingers any further advance of the English arms. But more carefully examined, the misfortunes of the Afghán war simply amount to this—that an expedition, begun in vain-glorious bombast, and carried out amid every species of miscalculation, diplomatic blundering, and military incompetency, underwent a period of disgrace and defeat. For that mismanagement, English soldiers and women and children paid a most cruel price; but it was simply the price of our own folly and incapacity. The army of retribution which followed redeemed the disgrace, but it could not call back to life the victims, nor eradicate the deep feeling of indignation and distrust which the whole war had implanted in the English mind. Dost Muhammad, whom we had tried to supplant, eventually regained his power, and settled down into a firm ally of the British

Government. We had had enough of intermeddling in Afghánistán, and one of the last treaties of the East India Company engaged to respect the territories 'now in His Highness' possession, and never to interfere therein.'¹ Sir John Lawrence, as Chief-Commissioner of the Panjáb, had been instrumental in bringing about this engagement, and signed it in 1855 on behalf of the Marquess of Dalhousie. As Viceroy, between the years 1864 and 1869, he adhered to the same principles. Those principles were friendly recognition of whomsoever might for the time being establish himself *de facto* ruler of Afghánistán; but absolute non-interference in his quarrels with his subjects, or in the succession struggles among his kindred for the throne.

The period was one which tested these principles to the utmost. In 1863 died Dost Muhammad, leaving a family which originally numbered twenty-two sons (of whom twelve were considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the Foreign Office *précis*), and at least eleven grandsons, to fight for the inheritance. Before his death he acknowledged his son Amír Sher Ali as his successor; but it soon became apparent that, whichever of the kindred was to establish himself on the State cushion, he must reach it through his brethren's blood. In the five years of anarchy and rapine which followed, sometimes one, sometimes another of the fratricidal band came

¹ Treaty between the Amír Dost Muhammad Khán, Wali of Cabul, and the Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India. Done at Pesháwar, 30th March 1855.

uppermost; Sher Ali taking a prominent position in the struggle, and strenuously asserting his claims, but always in the presence of rivals, and often hard pressed by defeat. The story has been told in two admirable essays¹ by the late John Wyllie, C.S.I., who held the office of Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, and acted for a short time as Chief-Secretary during the period referred to. As I am reprinting Mr. Wyllie's works, and hope that they will appear almost simultaneously with the present book, I need not enter into the details of the struggle. The one point with which we have here to do is Sir John Lawrence's absolute maintenance of the policy of recognising whichever of the brethren might be for the time the *de facto* ruler. He even went so far as to acknowledge two reigning powers within Afghánistán at the same time. He practically said to the sons of the Dost: Whichever of you establishes himself throughout either the whole or a part of Afghánistán, I shall acknowledge him as ruler of the territory in which he is thus established. In 1866 Muhammad Afzúl Khán had driven his brother, Sher Ali, out of Cabul into the western and southern provinces, Herat and Kandahar. Having thus possession of the capital (Cabul) and the Metropolitan Province, Muhammad Afzúl Khán asked the British Government to recognise him as ruler of

¹ 'Foreign Policy of Sir John Lawrence,' *Edinburgh Review*, January 1867; and 'Masterly Inactivity,' *Fortnightly Review*, December 1869. From these Essays, together with a *précis* of the events kindly furnished to me by the Foreign Office, I have condensed the above narrative of Afghán affairs.

Afghánistán. Sir John Lawrence replied¹ that 'Sher Alí still rules in Kandahar and Herat. My friend! the relations of this Government are with the actual rulers in Afghánistán. If your Highness is able to consolidate your Highness' power in Cabul, and is sincerely desirous of being a friend and ally of the British Government, I shall be ready to accept your Highness as such; but I cannot break the existing engagements with Amír Sher Alí Khán, and I must continue to treat him as the ruler of that portion of Afghánistán over which he retains control.'

The following year, 1867, found Sher Alí's power still on the wane. By this time he had been hemmed into the frontier Province of Herat; and Muhammad Afzul Khán again demanded a full recognition of his authority as ruler of Afghánistán. 'My friend!' answered the Viceroy,² 'the British Government has hitherto maintained a strict neutrality between the contending parties in Afghánistán. Rumours, I am told, have reached the Cabul Darbár of assistance having been granted by me to Amír Sher Alí Khán. I take this opportunity to request your Highness not to believe such idle tales. Neither men, nor arms, nor money, nor assistance of any kind have ever been supplied by my Government to Amír Sher Alí Khán. Your Highness and he, both equally unaided by me, have fought out the battle each upon your own resources. I purpose to continue the same policy for

¹ Letter to His Highness Sardar Muhammad Afzul Khán, Wali of Cabul, dated 11th July 1866.

² Letter to His Highness Sardar Muhammad Afzūl Khán, Amír of Cabul and Kandahar, dated 25th February 1867.

the future. If, unhappily, the struggle for supremacy in Afghánistán has not yet been brought to a close, and hostilities are again renewed, I shall still side with neither party. My friend! as I told your Highness in my formér letter, the relations of the British Government are with the actual rulers of Afghánistán. Therefore, so long as Amír Sher Alí Khán holds Herat, and maintains friendship with the British Government, I shall recognise him as ruler of Herat, and shall reciprocate his amity. But, upon the same principle, I am prepared to recognise your Highness as Amír of Cabul and Kandahar, and I frankly offer your Highness, in that capacity, peace and the goodwill of the British Government.'

In 1866 Sir John Lawrence thus summed up the policy of his Government :—'We should await the development of events. It should be our policy to show clearly that we will not interfere in the struggle; that we will not aid either party; that we will leave the Afgháns to settle their own quarrels; and that we are willing to be on terms of amity and goodwill with the nation, and with the rulers *de facto*.' This was his decision after a full review of the case, and notwithstanding the desire of the Afgháns for intervention. 'The men of our family,' they said through one of their chiefs, 'and the tribes, with one accord, come to this conclusion, that, without the interposition of the English Government, peace and order cannot be ensured; and with this view they entertained a thought of forwarding a general petition acknowledging consent and submission to the rule of the English Government.'

During the second half of 1867, and throughout 1868, the tide of fortune turned. In the autumn of the latter year Sher Ali was able to convince Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, that he had at length re-established his authority; and that it had become the duty of the British Government to recognise him as the *de facto* ruler of Afghánistán. Some misapprehension has arisen in England regarding this transaction. It has been represented that Lord Mayo, by the Ambálá Darbár, in March 1869, reversed his predecessor's policy towards Afghánistán. Now the truth is, in the first place, that that policy was not reversed; and, in the second place, that any changes which took place in it were marked out by Lord Mayo's predecessor himself. Sir John Lawrence, during the five years' struggle which followed the death of Dost Muhammad, rigidly adhered to the principle of recognising whoever might be *de facto* ruler in Afghánistán. He left the brethren to fight it out. But the struggle being ended, and Sher Ali having finally established his *de facto* supremacy, Sir John Lawrence, in pursuance of the same principle, felt himself bound to acknowledge Sher Ali as sovereign of Afghánistán. With a view to this, he formally recognised him by letter; sent him, in token of the peace and goodwill of the British Government, a present of £20,000, and promised him £100,000 more. He likewise consented to receive a visit of respect from him within British territory, and to treat him with the honours due to the sovereign of Afghánistán.

It is not my business to criticise the policy which Lord Mayo thus found marked out for him, but merely to state it. A wide divergence of opinion exists, both in the Government in India and among Her Majesty's advisers at home, touching the proper course of England towards Afghánistán. One school of thinkers believe that our true interest lies in non-interference. They hold that, in a country where the rights of inheritance to the throne are so ill-determined that each demise of the ruler involves a war, our duty should be confined to a friendly recognition of whichever of the claimants succeeds in actually establishing his power. They consider it both politically dangerous and morally wrong for us to interfere with an independent State, simply because it employs a war of succession as its national method of determining who shall ascend the State cushion. Of this school Lord Lawrence is the great historical type, and the late Mr. John Wyllie the ablest literary exponent. But the words Masterly Inactivity, which Mr. Wyllie adopted as a motto, have been caught up by an opposite set of thinkers, and hurled back against him as a term of reproach. These adversaries hold that it is both morally wrong and politically dangerous for us to stand by and see a neighbouring State torn to pieces by internecine factions, and liable at any moment to become the theatre of successful Russian intrigue. They hold that, in so doing, we disregard our most solemn duty as the great ameliorating Power in Asia, and that we fall into the blunder of exalting the influence of our European rival upon

the ruins of our own. This school is represented by Sir Henry Rawlinson, beyond all comparison the most eminent of living writers and practical diplomatists who have devoted their talents to Central Asian affairs. Indeed, as a matter of historical sequence, although whether of cause and effect I am unable to say, Sir John Lawrence resolved to definitively recognise Sher Ali as ruler of Afghánistán, shortly after a very able paper by Sir Henry Rawlinson reached India.¹ The Afgháns themselves, or rather their party-leaders, advocate intervention when they wish us to interfere in favour of their own particular faction, and denounce it when they fear it will be exercised on behalf of another. When an Afghán Chief wants our support, he states his case in a way that makes the English cheek tingle with shame at our position as the permanent abettors of bloodshed and insurrection in Afghánistán, by a policy which recognises each successful rebel. But the next mail-bag probably brings a letter from his rival, representing any interference as an act of hostile aggression.

Three days before Lord Mayo landed in Calcutta, Sir John Lawrence officially declared the policy of the Government of India towards Afghánistán. It fell to Lord Mayo to carry out the arrangement. He received Sher Ali's visit of respect, as had been agreed upon. He presented him with the £100,000 already promised, and some arms. But from that day till the day of his death, Lord Mayo, whatever

¹ Since the above was written, this paper has appeared as Chapter v. of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *England and Russia in the East*.

he may have contemplated in the future, gave no further gifts to the Amír Sher Ali, nor did he send a single soldier into Afghánistán, nor interfere in any way in its internal affairs. He rigidly and successfully enforced the policy which Sir John Lawrence in the end of 1868 had marked out; a policy which (according to one school of thinkers) was the legitimate development of the principles laid down by Sir John Lawrence in the Pesháwar Treaty of 1855, and consistently maintained by him when Viceroy from 1864 to January 1869.¹

The meeting took place at Ambálá in March 1869. In passing through the Panjáb to Ambálá, the Afghán stolidity of the Amír from time to time broke out into expressions of surprise at the prosperity, peace, and proofs of firm administration which disclosed themselves at every stage. 'These English,' he said, 'are wonderful people. We know they can fight and rough it as well as anybody else, and yet they keep their houses clean, and surround themselves with luxuries. Why should we go on living in the filth

¹The misapprehension above alluded to received some show of authority from a very clever essay by Mr. John Wyllie in the *Fortnightly Review* of March 1870. As that essay contains much that is valuable, and represents a view that will always have a body of supporters in India, I have reprinted it in my forthcoming edition of his works. But as regards the facts of the individual case, Mr. Wyllie had not been able to bring to bear the same accurate knowledge which characterizes his other essays. Mr. Wyllie had left India some years before; he had only newspaper reports to go upon; and the illness which ended in his death shut him off even from the latest information that could be derived from this source. Had he lived, he would have doubtless removed several mis-statements. He died 15th March 1870, within a few days of the appearance of the essay.

and discomfort of our homes?' The British barracks especially impressed him. 'They are more magnificent and well-furnished,' he remarked, 'than any building in my kingdom, not excepting my own palace.' He had a sharp eye for the actual facts of our administration. 'The English, wherever they go, leave prosperity in their track; but it cannot be otherwise under their system of rule, which makes the welfare of the multitude the object of Government.' The only thing which struck him to our disadvantage was the appearance of the English ladies, whose beauty was not of the type to which his Afghán eye had been trained. He explained this, however, by an ingenious theory, that, notwithstanding the professed freedom of English women, their husbands 'are very sly people, and keep the prettiest of their wives at home.'

I do not propose to record the splendours of the Ambálá Darbár. All well-managed Darbárs are imposing, and form, as one has well said, 'an Oriental edition of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.' I had the privilege of being a guest at the magnificent gathering of troops, Native Princes, and British administrators, which encamped on the Ambálá plain in 1869. But I feel that if I enter on the spectacular aspects of an Indian Vicéroy's career, this book will swell far beyond the limits which I have assigned to it. My business is with the less imposing but more permanent facts of the work actually accomplished. For the scenic decorations I must beg to refer to the forthcoming reprint of Mr. Wyllie's Essays. From the moment the Amír crossed our frontier, he was

received with a certain magnificence of hospitality which strongly impressed him. At Lahor he let fall the words: 'I now begin to feel myself a king.'

• Lord Mayo very carefully shaped in his own mind the course which the negotiations should take. A few minutes before leaving Calcutta for Ambálá he thus developed his views in a private letter to one of Her Majesty's Ministers:—'I think any treaty or promise of permanent subsidy most inadvisable. At the same time, we must not shut ourselves out altogether from assisting Sher Ali if we find it advantageous so to do. I am convinced that the checking of hostile advances by other nations is mainly to be done by pushing our commerce northwards. I hope that sensible men will not advocate either the extreme line of absolute inaction, or the worse alternative of meddling and interfering by subsidies and emissaries. The safe course lies in habitual watchfulness, and friendly intercourse with neighbouring States and tribes.'

This, however, was by no means what Sher Ali had made the long journey from Afghánistán to obtain. He desired, in the first place, a treaty. In the second place, he hoped for a fixed annual subsidy. In the third place, for assistance in arms or in men, to be given 'not when the British Government might think fit to grant, but when he might think it needful' to solicit it.' In the fourth place, for a well-defined engagement, 'laying the British Government under an obligation to support the Afghán Government in any emergency; and not only that Government

generally, but that Government as vested in himself and his direct descendants, and in no others.¹ Finally, he cherished a desire that he might obtain some constructive act of recognition by the British Government in favour of his younger son, Abdullá Ján, whom he brought with him, and whom he wished to make his heir, to the exclusion of his elder son, Yákub Khán, who had helped him to win the throne.

In not one of these objects was the Amír successful. The first four were distinctly negatived; the fifth was not, I believe, even permitted to enter into the discussions. Lord Mayo adhered to the programme which, as above quoted, he had sketched before leaving Calcutta. Yet, by tact and by conciliatory firmness, he sent the Amír away satisfied, and deeply impressed with the advantage of being on good terms with the British Power. 'We have distinctly intimated to the Amír,' he wrote, 'that under no circumstances shall a British soldier cross his frontier to assist him in coercing his rebellious subjects. That no fixed subsidy or money allowance will be given for any named period. That no promise of assistance in other ways will be made. That no treaty will be entered into, obliging us under every circumstance to recognise him and his descendants as rulers of Afghánistán. Yet that, by the most open and absolute present recognition, and by every public evidence of friendly disposition, of respect for his character, and interest in his fortunes, we are pre-

¹ Minute in Council, by the Hon. Sir John Strachey, sometime acting Governor-General, dated 30th April 1872.

pared to give him all the moral support in our power ; and that, in addition, we are willing to assist him with money, arms, ammunition, Native artificers, and in other ways, whenever we deem it desirable so to do. In order to carry out this view, I have endeavoured in all matters of reception and ceremonial, to which the natives of India attach so much importance, to give the visit the character of a meeting between equals, and to show the world that we look upon the Amír as an Independent, not as a Feudatory Prince. I am convinced that the policy we have adopted in this instance is safe, clear, and right, and honourable alike to ourselves and the Amír. We must assist him, but we assist him in a way that neither entangles us in any engagements which may prove embarrassing hereafter, nor weaken his independence. The Afgháns were once our friends, till in an evil hour we tried to coerce them. I believe they may be made so again, if we adhere strictly to what has been commenced here ; and the day may not be far distant when we may find the advantage of possessing on our frontier an almost impenetrable country, manned by some of the best hill troops in the world.'

At the close of the negotiations, Lord Mayo formally conveyed his assurances of support to the Amír in the following terms :—' Although, as already intimated to you, the British Government does not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghánistán, yet, considering that the bonds of friendship between that Government and your Highness have been more

closely drawn than heretofore, it will view with severe displeasure any attempts on the part of your rivals to disturb your position as ruler in Cabul and rekindle civil war. And it will further endeavour, from time to time, by such means as circumstances may require, to strengthen the Government of your Highness, to enable you to exercise with equity and with justice your rightful rule, and to transmit to your descendants all the dignity and honour of which you are the lawful possessor. It is my wish, therefore, that your Highness should communicate frequently and freely with the Government of India and its officers on all subjects of public interest; and I can assure your Highness that any representations which you may make will always be treated with consideration and respect.'

Lord Mayo granted no treaty to Sher Ali. In place of 'a fixed annual subsidy,' and 'assistance in arms or in men' as the Amir might demand, Lord Mayo told him only to hope for 'assistance in money and materials of war' 'at the discretion of the Government of India.' Instead of an obligation to support Sher Ali and his heirs against all comers, Lord Mayo sent the Afghán away with the assurance that the Indian Government 'would view with severe displeasure any attempt on the part of his rivals to disturb his position as ruler of Cabul and rekindle civil war.' The last sentence was vigorously attacked by one school of thinkers as going too far, and by another as not going far enough. It must suffice to say, that it was most carefully and deliberately framed

by Lord Mayo and his advisers, and that during the six years which have elapsed since 1869 it has proved neither more nor less than adequate, as regards the then existing factions against whom it was levelled.

The foregoing may seem but a small result to the Amír after the expectations which he had formed. But it was all that Lord Mayo deemed right to grant, and it sufficed to render the Amír a firm and grateful friend during the whole of Lord Mayo's rule, and, so far as is known, up to the present time. As regards the previous claimants to the throne, the long Afghán war of succession ceased, and the Amír Sher Alí has since then reigned as the rightful heir of his father, Dost Muhammad. But it would be vain to expect absolute tranquillity in a country like Afghánistán. The mixture of hereditary right with the power of selection on the part of the reigning Prince never fails to create heart-burning among his children. The Amír early disclosed a partiality for his younger son, Abdullá Ján, a boy whose sole claim to his fondness was the fact of his being the child of his mature age. Yákub Khán, the elder son, who had bravely fought his father's battles and helped him to the State cushion, resented these indications in his brother's favour; and in 1871 he declared that he would assert his right to the inheritance by arms. After various intrigues, a reconciliation took place between Yákub and his father at the instance of Lord Mayo. 'I will send a reassuring letter to my son,' wrote the Amír, 'in accordance with the commands of the Viceroy. Should my son desist from his misconduct and wait

on me, I shall without fail pardon all his faults.' Yákub subsequently received the government of the frontier Province of Herat, bordering on Persia. The Amír, however, after Lord Mayo's death, ventured to declare the younger brother Abdullá Ján heir to the whole kingdom of Afghánistán. Against this Yákub protested, and during the present year (1874) threatened his father with war. As I write, another of the strange scene-shiftings incident to Oriental intrigue has taken place. The Amír wiled Yákub to his capital on the plea of a second reconciliation, and promptly shut him up in prison, where he now lies, while his party in Herat have risen against Sher Ali.

What the end will be it would be unwise to predict. The war of succession among the sons of Dost Muhammad may perhaps repeat itself among the sons of Sher Ali. But during Lord Mayo's life these struggles did not gain head, and the Amír Sher Ali reigned as undisputed sovereign of Afghánistán. The moral effect of such an unwonted respite to that distraught country, after six years of rapine and anarchy, may be well understood. It had been accomplished by the prestige which the Ambálá Darbár threw around the Amír, and by the counsels which Lord Mayo stringently inculcated on him as on all Native rulers, that if they desired his friendship they must govern in the interests of their people. I cannot do better than sum up the results of Lord Mayo's policy in Afghánistán by quoting the Minute which his most trusted councillor recorded after his death. 'It

had taken many years to obliterate the memory of the disastrous policy of 1839-42, and to convince the Afghán nation that the British Power was not a neighbour whose aggression or interference was to be feared. The friendly meeting at Ambálá came at the right time to remove the mistrust which had prevented British influence from being effectually exercised in Afghánistán; to bring home to the Amír's mind the conviction that the British Government had no desire to extend its dominions; and to pave the way for the acceptance of what was to the Amír the still stranger lesson, that his highest wisdom was to abstain from interfering in the affairs of his neighbours, and to play his part in the difficult task of restoring some measure of peace to the wasted regions of Central Asia. This advice, repeated in writing from time to time as opportunity offered, the Amír has not been slow to accept. To the insidious counsels of those of his subjects who have occasionally prompted him to overstep the limits of his dominions, and adopt an aggressive policy in retaliation for injuries received, real or fancied, the Amír has ever turned a deaf ear. In accordance with the advice which had been given him by the late Viceroy, he has enjoined on his frontier officers a policy of watchful defence and of abstinence from aggression, and has endeavoured to settle his difficulties by diplomatic action, in a manner which has not only astonished his own people, but has excited the admiration of the Russian Government. These results have been carried out without any help from

the British Government, beyond strong moral support and continued advice. Since 1869 the Amír has received no subsidy or material assistance. At no time were the relations of the Amír with his neighbours more peaceful and friendly than at present' (1872).

• Lord Mayo was himself well satisfied with the results of the Darbár. The rebellious northern frontier at once submitted to the Amír, and peace reigned throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom. Embassies came to India from Bokhárá, Eastern Turkestan, and other great States. Persia submitted to arbitration as regards her doubtful possessions on her eastern border. Within India, every great Feudatory felt that the Suzerain Government had stood forth with wisdom and with power, and the British prestige reached a point which it had not attained since the Mutinies of 1857.

The Amír, on his return to Cabul, initiated English improvements with an amusing promptitude. He forbade his troops and the inhabitants to wear arms between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. He appointed night watchmen, and a judicial officer to hear petitions from the citizens. He established post offices. He substituted cash payments for the old practice of paying the Government servants by assignments of land or revenue. He ordered the shoemakers of Cabul to sell off all their old stock, and to make boots according to the English pattern. He dressed himself in the English costume of coat and pantaloons, and directed his officers to do the same. He organized a Council of State, composed of thirteen members, as

a constitutional body for advising him in all departments of the administration. He remitted the more terrible forms of punishment, and pardoned several ancient enemies. In short, he did what in him lay to establish good government and win the confidence of his people. Rapid reforms, however, are often short-lived. The most promising of them, namely, the substitution of cash payments for assignments on the revenue, was so violently opposed by all the officials of Afghánistán, from the great *Sardárs* downwards, that, so far as I can learn, it was never even introduced.

Meanwhile Russia was looking on with a distrustful eye. That great Power has a history more ancient and not less honourable than our own in the establishment of good government in Asia. Her conquests to the eastward have extended over more than three hundred years. The first subjection of Kasan dates from 1487. Ivan IV., who reigned during a full half century, from 1533 to 1584, subdued the Tartar Khanates of the south, with the exception of the Crimea. Astrakhán fell in 1554; the Bashkirs were added to the Russian Empire in 1556; and Tobolsk, the capital city of Siberia, was founded in 1587. Peter the Great conquered the Provinces to the west of the Caspian Sea, and this conquest was recognised by a formal treaty with Persia in 1727. A retrograde movement then took place in the Russian march through Asia. In 1734 she had to relinquish the four Caspian Provinces. But at the beginning of the present century she again stands forward as the conquering

power in Asia. In 1806, the great territory of Darbend came into her hands; in 1813, the Persians had to restore to her the two Caspian Provinces of Darghestān and Shirvan. In 1828 she acquired Arān.¹ Her more recent conquests are well known. She has advanced with the strides of a giant into the heart of Central Asia, founded forts, settled military colonies, and run a telegraph line² with a military road over mountains and steppes and sandy deserts, to the great watershed which now alone remains between her and China. She has laid out Central Asia into Russian governorships and military commands, and her maps colour her frontier as conterminous with that of the Chinese Empire.³

In one form or another, and with various degrees of aggressive vitality, Russia has been the single steadily-growing power in Central Asia during the last three centuries. In that long career of conquest she has had lapses of inactivity, and periods during which the spirit of annexation worked with spasmodic force. But taking the period as a whole, her progress has been steady, and that progress has been not merely one of territorial aggrandizement, but of

¹ For the above dates I have trusted to Von Hellwald's *Russians in Central Asia*.

² The telegraph goes as far as Fort Vernoe, in the 77th or 78th degree of longitude on the north of the Issik-kul lake.

³ For curious and authentic information regarding Russia's advance in Central Asia, see a narrative of the Khiva Expedition under General Perofsky in 1839; translated from the Russian for the Foreign Department of the Government of India, and still to be obtained, I believe, at the office of the superintendent of Government printing, Calcutta. Also *Notes on Western Turkestan*, by Mr. G. R. Aberigh-Mackay, Calcutta, 1875.

better government, more perfect consolidation, and the spread of the blessings of firm control and security among the races subjected to her sway.

• There is nothing more pathetic in history than the contrast between what Russia has thus won by the toil and blood of three hundred years, and the more splendid and sudden inheritance which has fallen to England in the East. The methods by which we won British India, with its population of close on two hundred millions, and its Feudatory States with about fifty millions more, are sufficiently well known. The period of conquest may for practical purposes be comprised within one hundred years, from the Madras victories and the battle of Plassey in the middle of the last century, to the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration in 1856. Instead of the thinly-peopled steppes and oasis-studded deserts of Central Asia, a great empire, more fertile and with its Feudatories more populous than all Europe, Russia excepted, has passed under our rule. The returns furnished by the *Almanach de Gotha* exhibit the whole population subject to Russia in Central Asia¹ at $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions of souls. Siberia has only $3\frac{1}{3}$ millions, and the population of the Russian Caucasus was under 5 millions in 1871.² Allowing for increase and recent additions, the total population in Asia which Russia has won by three centuries of labour does not exceed twelve millions of souls. A hundred years of Indian con-

¹ Including under this name the Kirghiz Steppes, $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions, and Russian Turkestan, $1\frac{1}{3}$ millions.

² I take these figures from the latest statistics available to me—the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1874.

quest have given to England a subject and feudatory population of two hundred and fifty millions. As far as can be ascertained, the revenue of Russia in Asia is under five millions sterling; the revenue of England in Asia is over forty-five millions. To secure her Asiatic conquests, with their scattered population of twelve million souls, Russia requires an army in Asia of 163,759 men. England garrisons India, with its two hundred and fifty million souls, by an army of about 180,000 officers and men, of whom only 60,000 are British troops.¹ India lies in the direct line of the trade of the world, and has free intercourse with the four continents by the unmade highways of the sea. Russia's domains in Asia are hemmed in by mountains and broken up by deserts. For India's rivers and ocean-routes, Asiatic Russia has the sandy track or the laboriously-engineered military road; for the Indian steamship and railway she has the caravan and the camel. It may well be understood that Russia looks with a not always cordial eye on her younger and more fortunate rival. She has had as able generals and as wise administrators as ourselves. Her soldiers have shed their blood as freely on the battle-field, and her victories of diplomacy have been not less enduring than our own. She holds a position towards the native races and states strikingly analogous to ours. We could not help conquering

¹ The numbers fluctuate year by year, and in three years varied from a total of 164,560 in 1871 to 191,935 in 1873. In like manner, the European troops have varied from 58,545 to 66,578 during the same period. Sixty thousand fairly represents the average from 1867 to 1873.

India unless we were to be driven out of it. Nor can Russia help conquering in Central Asia, if she is to maintain herself undisturbed within it. The East India Company's perils were greater and its situation was more critical. It found itself compelled to act with a compressed vigour which has not been forced upon Russia, and its conquests were concentrated within a shorter time. If any difference can be discerned which gives us a better title to success, it consists in the fact that our Government in India is essentially a civil one; while that of Russia in Asia is essentially military. There is not a Native Prince within India, or a frontier potentate beyond it, who does not feel that, however the British power in India may have been obtained, it is exercised in the interests of the people. But the fact remains, that the English Empire in Asia is a thing of yesterday compared with the Muscovite conquests. Any consolidation of British relations with trans-frontier States towards Central Asia renders Russia suspicious that a rival so strenuous and so fortunate has not yet done with conquest. And so it came to pass that the *Ambálá Darbár* of 1869, and the establishment of a firm government in Afghánistán under the British friendship, created a ferment of distrust at St. Petersburg.

Such documents on the Central Asian question as it has been deemed expedient to publish are to be found in the Blue-Books and Command Papers of the last few years. On this point my duty is confined to stating Lord Mayo's own views with regard to Russia

in his own words. They will contribute little to the history of Indo-Russian relations, but they will show what manner of man their writer was, and in what spirit he approached one of the great questions with which he had to deal.

In 1869 he briefly stated his policy to be 'the establishment of independent and friendly Powers between our own frontier and the regions of Central Asia.' 'I hope,' he wrote in a private letter already cited, 'that sensible men will not continue to advocate the extreme line of inaction; or the worse alternative of meddling and interfering by subsidies and emissaries.' In place of the old slumbrous indifference, broken at intervals by rude awakenings and followed by ill-sustained spasms of intervention, he laid down a system of 'habitual watchfulness, and friendly intercourse with neighbouring States and tribes.' He tried to remove trans-frontier questions from the region of ignorance and surprise into that of calm knowledge. 'Surround India,' he wrote to a friend shortly after the Ambálá Darbar, 'with strong, friendly, and independent States, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other Power, and we are safe. The Central Asia question is only a bugbear *if prudence be observed*, and will have no reality for many years to come.' 'Our influence,' he says in another letter, 'has been considerably strengthened, both in our own territories and also in the States of Central Asia, by the Ambálá meeting; and if we can only persuade people that our policy really is non-intervention and peace, that

England is at this moment the only non-aggressive Power in Asia, we should stand on a pinnacle of power that we have never enjoyed before.'

• He accepted the fact of Russia's splendid vitality in the East as one neither to be shirked nor condemned, but at the same time as one which, by vigilant firmness, might be rendered harmless to ourselves. 'We cannot view,' he wrote to Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg, 'with any feelings of alarm the advance in Asia of a civilised Christian Power, and the establishment of its influence over wild and savage tribes. If Russia could only be brought to act cordially with us, to say that she would not obstruct our trade, that she would not encourage any hostile aggression or intrigue against Afghánistán, Yarkand, or the territories lying on our frontier, and that she would stop with a strong hand the internecine feuds among those nations over whom she possesses influence, she would find that her mission in Asia would be facilitated, and that the civilisation of the wide districts of Central Asia and the complete establishment of her power would be greatly hastened.' But while desirous of a friendly and definite understanding, Lord Mayo made it very clear that his proposals proceeded from no apprehension regarding our own power. He studied the respective positions of the two great European nations in Asia with the most patient industry, mastered every available source of information, and formed his conclusions as follows. 'I am rather inclined to believe that Russia is ignorant of our power. She seems to forget that we are in

possession (if inclined to exercise it) of enormous influence, great wealth, and complete organization ; that we are established, compact, and strong in Asia, whilst she is exactly the reverse ; and that it is the very feeling of this power which justifies us in assuming that passive policy which, though it may be occasionally carried too far, is right in principle.'

When Lord Mayo assumed the Government, he found the public mind, both in India and in England, perturbed by the progress of Russia towards our Panjáb frontier. The European States had fixed their eyes on the two great Christian Powers in the East, and freely discussed the chances of a hostile meeting. The bázárs and Native Courts throughout Asia were buzzing with tales of approaching complications,—stories sufficiently false in themselves, but not the less harmful as incentives to frontier disturbances, and to disloyal hopes within our empire. The subject had acquired so practical an importance, that, on the very same day on which the Indian Viceroy was receiving the Afghán ruler at Ambálá, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was opening a long series of negotiations with Prince Gortchakow. Lord Mayo approached the question by two separate lines of advance,—by negotiations at St. Petersburg, and by consolidating our relations with our own Frontier States. Regarding the former, I can, with propriety, say but little here. Interviews took place between the British and Russian Ministers in the autumn of 1869 with no decided result, until the visit to St. Petersburg of Mr. (now Sir Douglas)

Forsyth, an eminent Indian civilian, in November of that year. This gentleman had for many years taken an active interest in Central Asian politics. He enjoyed the confidence of Lord Mayo, and, although not vested with authoritative powers, his views carried the weight which belongs to a perfect knowledge of the facts, backed by the joint support of the Secretary of State for India and Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs. The points of discussion chiefly referred to Afghánistán, and an understanding was arrived at that the northern boundaries of this great intermediate State should include all territories then in possession of the Amír up to the river Oxus; but that the Amír was not to cross the river, nor to interfere in any way with the affairs of Bokhárá. Finally, that while the British Government would see that the Amír strictly adhered to this arrangement, Russia, on her side, should not encroach southwards, nor interfere in any way with Afghánistán.

Sir Douglas Forsyth discharged his part with tact and ability; but the understanding thus arrived at in the winter of 1869 could not be made the subject of a written engagement, pending geographical references to General¹ Kauffmann, the Russian Governor-General in Central Asia. The great Afghán ruler, Dost Muhammad, had left a state of confusion, which did not permit of the territorial extension that Afghánistán had acquired at certain moments of his reign being accepted as a basis for its permanent boundaries. The limits of Afghánistán had therefore to be decided by the test of actual possession vested in the

present ruler. On this difficult point, and on the proper ethnical distribution of the peoples concerned, a divergence of opinion arose between the Russian and the English Cabinets. Various delays intervened, but at length the disputed points were narrowed to the question of the Afghán ruler's actual possession of Wákhán and Badakshán. The Russian authorities believed that the peace of Central Asia would be imperilled if these States were acknowledged as subject to the Amír. The British authorities believed that that peace would be imperilled if they were not thus acknowledged. In the end, the Imperial Cabinet yielded, and Prince Gortchakow finally communicated the Czar's acceptance of the English view in January 1873. Meanwhile, both Powers discouraged aggression or disturbances of any sort in the territories under dispute.

Lord Mayo steadfastly carried out his side of the arrangement. The Amír of Afghánistán had several outstanding quarrels to settle beyond the frontier allotted to him; and the following sentences of Lord Mayo, with reference to a projected Afghán aggression on Bokhára, will show the honesty of purpose with which the Indian Viceroy worked:—'We have now done all that lies in our power,' he writes in a despatch, 'to maintain peace on the frontier of Afghánistán, and though we shall steadily adhere to our policy, and continue to maintain an attitude of constant watchfulness, we can do no more. It rests with the Czar's Government, by adopting the same course with regard to those countries which are beyond the

Russian possessions in Central Asia, as we have taken in Afghánistán, to permanently secure peace throughout the wide districts which are influenced respectively by the Government of the Queen and of His Imperial Majesty. In view of the 'success of the efforts we have made to prevent aggression in the countries to the south of the Russian frontier, and all interference with Russian interests in Central Asia, we consider that Her Majesty's Government has a right to suggest that the Government of the Czar should promise to use all its influence to save from menace and attack the territories of the present Amír of Afghánistán, and to observe that policy of peace which Russia professes to be her aim, and which we believe to be as essential to the consolidation of her own power as it is to the interest of humanity and civilisation in Turkeistán.'

It is vain to speculate as to the development which this policy might have attained had Lord Mayo lived to complete his Viceroyalty. But it is certain that the suspicions and apprehensions with which Russia viewed the Ambálá meeting gave place to a hearty understanding during the subsequent years of Lord Mayo's rule. The Russian Generals in Central Asia found that the Indian Viceroy had both the will and the power to keep his word; and Lord Mayo, whose youthful travels in Russia, and subsequent interest in her welfare, enabled him to count many of her leading statesmen as his personal friends, was much encouraged by the assurances which reached him on this head. 'It has given me the greatest satisfaction,' he wrote

after the negotiations of 1869 had begun to bear fruit, 'to hear that the Emperor has expressed himself gratified with the course which I have felt it to be my duty to adopt since I came to India. I cannot think that, if we only understand each other, Russian interests in Asia ought to be at variance with our own. The course which we have taken is sound, honest, and just. And I am certain, that if Russia does not take a similar course, she will lay up for herself much trouble and danger, the extent of which she is probably not so cognisant of as I am.' •

Lord Mayo's policy as regards Russia gradually grew more definite, as his acquaintance with the difficulties inseparable from her position as an isolated European Power in Asia became more exact. But several distinct sets of facts influenced his views from the commencement of his rule, and may be summarized as the four cardinal considerations in the policy which he had matured before his death. •

First, that Asia is a natural and legitimate field for Russian activity. Lord Mayo perceived that Russia is a much older, and, at the same time, a more youthful Power in Asia than ourselves. Her advance to the eastwards dates from over three centuries ago, and since the fifty years' reign of Ivan IV. (1533 to 1584) that advance has formed part of the permanent policy of the Muscovite Empire. But while Russia is thus a much older Power in Asia than ourselves, she has, during the present generation, disclosed an aggressive vitality, which may have been characteristic of our Indian policy during the last century, but which has

advisedly ceased to be so. An idea may be formed of this vitality from the fact, as broadly stated by an able writer, that while Russia took three centuries to push forward her conquests from the Ural Mountains to the south of 'the Caspian', the last thirty years have seen her advance from the Aral Sea to Samarkand. One has only to turn to the map for a minute to realize what this means. Twenty years ago the Crimean war taught Russia that for the present there is no thoroughfare for her in Europe. But during the past third of a century, her march across Central Asia has been as the rush of a tidal wave, rapid, resistless, burying beneath its waters all obstacles that would stay her course.

In the second place, Lord Mayo had reason to know that Russia counted on the position which she had thus won, and was prepared to use it as a lever in her European policy.. She thinks that she has, as it were, turned the flank of the Eastern Question. If ever the time comes for her again to press her claims at the Dardanelles, she will bring to bear the weight not only of a great European nation, but also of an Asiatic Power who hopes that she may influence one of her chief opponents through his Indian possessions. In the meanwhile, she is well content to present her Asiatic successes in their least menacing aspect. Lord Mayo accurately gauged her professions of non-aggrandizement, for he knew that the surroundings of a civilised nation among the slave-trading Muhammadan States of Central Asia, are such as give rise to circumstances which the Christian sense of Europe would recognise as

good grounds of aggression and conquest. He contrasted the enforced endurance by Russia of the traffic in her people in the Khivá market, and of the bondage of Russian men and women (formerly, it is said, to the number of two thousand) in the territories of a barbarous Khán, with the cry for vengeance which rings through India if a couple of our native subjects get captured in a frontier quarrel, perhaps of their own stirring up, and are spirited across the border. He realized that, if the Russian generals had formerly stood passive spectators of the Khiván slave-mart, it was not from want of grounds on which to interfere. And he perceived that the power of interference had now passed into their hands. He found, from our own experience in India, that the recent improvements in war have increased the effectiveness of attack against uncivilised States, even more rapidly than they have augmented the difficulties of transit and invasion. He saw that these improvements are now enabling Russia to march from the Aral Sea to the borders of China; and that they will continue to enable her to advance southwards and south-eastwards, until she finds herself met by civilised diplomacy, backed by equal appliances of war.

He thought, therefore, in the third place, that the time had come for a general understanding between Russia and England with regard to the territories still lying between their Asiatic frontiers. He entertained no exaggerated hopes as to the effectiveness of engagements between the Courts of St. Petersburg and St. James'. He knew that we can no more con-

trol the individual circumstances which may arise between Russia and her semi-subjected neighbours in Central Asia, than she could control the individual circumstances which may arise between ourselves and the States on our Panjáb frontier. Nor have I been able to find, from the materials before me, that he believed it practicable to guarantee the maintenance of any hard-and-fast 'intermediary zone,' in the sense in which Prince Gortchakow employed the expression,¹ after Lord Mayo's influence had been withdrawn from the negotiations by his sudden death. He pressed on Her Majesty's Ministers the perils which any guarantee of non-interference within such a zone would involve. He desired to see the independence of the States intervening between our frontier and Russian Turkistán maintained. He was anxious that Russia and England should come to a friendly understanding on this basis. But he thought that a formal treaty, binding either Russia or England to non-interference under every circumstance, would not be worth the paper on which it was written. He demanded independence of action on his own side, and he was willing to concede a similar independence to Russia. But he thought it well, alike in the interests of the two European Powers and of the Asiatic populations lying between them, that the questions involved should be subject to a recognised understanding between responsible Christian Courts; that the boundaries of

¹ Conspicuously in his despatch to Earl Granville, dated St. Petersburg, December 7, 1872. Since the above was written, Sir Henry Rawlinson has quoted with approval some of the public despatches of Lord Mayo on this subject.

the intermediate States should be defined; and that frontier disputes connected with them should be placed under the moderating influences of civilised diplomacy, rather than that we should leave them to be settled by Russia in her own interests, or to the local intrigues and miserable abortive vindictiveness of each intervening barbarous chief.

But while Lord Mayo thus deemed it wise to face the altered position of Russia in Asia, he thought, in the fourth place, that it was a position which we had no reason to dread. He perceived that, in all the essentials of strength, Russia is immeasurably weaker in the East than we are. As regards population, revenue, and facilities for organizing a civilised armament, and for maintaining it within the intermediate States, Russia has not reached the point which we passed three-quarters of a century ago. In India, the last seventy-five years have been years of consolidation. Our principal work has been not to extend our Indian empire, but to strengthen ourselves within it. We have succeeded in this task,—a task even more difficult than the first rush of conquest,—to a degree which has no precedent in ancient or in modern history. Yet, during the same three-quarters of a century, without any fixed policy of aggression, circumstances have incidentally forced on us additional Indian territories, more populous, more wealthy, and more valuable as a basis for sustaining a great war, than all the possessions which Russia has gathered together in Asia by the blood and toil of three centuries. During this generation Russia has rapidly

grown strong in Asia, and we have even more rapidly grown stronger. We can well afford, then, to meet force by force, or intrigue by intrigue. And it is this very sense of strength, as Lord Mayo writes in a letter already quoted, which warranted him in making advances towards placing the relations of the Christian Powers in Asia under recognised sanctions. He believed that the day is still distant when the frontiers of Russia and England will be conterminous in Asia. But he knew that, in the meanwhile, the supposed hostile attitudes of the two great Powers acted as a perpetual encouragement to intrigues within our Empire, and to sanguinary factions in the intervening States. •

The Russian statesmen felt this on their side quite as keenly as did the Indian Viceroy. 'I have already,' wrote General Kauffmann to Prince Gortchakow, nine months after Lord Mayo's death, 'had the honour of communicating to your Highness my opinion as to one of the causes of the excited state of public feeling existing in the Khánats of Central Asia bordering on Russia. This is, that all our neighbours, and particularly the Afgháns, are filled with the conviction that there exists between Russia and England an enmity which, sooner or later, will lead us into a conflict with the English in Asia. In conformity with the intentions and views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have applied myself to dispel this bugbear of an impending conflict between the two great Powers. In my relations with Kokand or Bokhára, and above all, in my letters to Sher Ali

Khán, I have always spoken of the similarity of views and of the friendship existing between ourselves and England; and I have applied myself to the task of demonstrating that these two Powers, Russia as well as England, are equally solicitous for the tranquillity of the countries and peoples which lie within the radius of their influence and protection. It is this reason which, up to the present time, has determined me not to send officers into those parts with the object of obtaining information respecting the questions put to me by the Imperial Government.¹

The foregoing pages sufficiently illustrate Lord Mayo's first line of approach to a settlement of the Central Asia question, namely, by negotiations with St. Petersburg. The second branch of his policy consisted in strengthening his own frontier. On this point a brief passage, penned by him only a month before his death, summarizes his views: 'I have frequently laid down what I believe to be the cardinal points of our frontier policy. They may be summed up in few words. We should establish with our frontier States of Kilát [Khelat], Afghánistán, Yarkand, Nepal, and Burmah, intimate relations of friendship. We should make them feel, that although we are all-powerful, we desire to support their nationality. That when necessity arises, we might assist them with money and arms, and perhaps even in certain eventualities with men. We could thus create in them outworks of our Empire, and by assuring

¹ General Kauffmann to Prince Gortchakow, dated St. Petersburg, 29th November 1872.

them that the days of annexation are passed, make them know that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by endeavouring to deserve our favour and support. It may take years to develop this policy, but if it is once established, our Empire will be secure.'

I have already described his efforts in this direction in Afghánistán, and his dealings with Kilát and Yarkand afford a further illustration of them.

The history of Kilát [Khelat], and of our relations with it, is admirably exhibited in volume vii. of Mr. Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*, and need not be reproduced at any length here. After an obscure history of dynastic changes, Kilát, in the first half of the last century, passed under the suzerainty of Persia, and continued so till the death of Nadir Shah. On the collapse of the Persian monarchy which followed, Kilát transferred its homage to Afghánistán; but the Khán of Kilát subsequently withdrew his allegiance, and declared himself independent, agreeing, however, to furnish a contingent of troops to Afghánistán when called upon, and receiving in return an allowance. Finally, in 1854, the Khán of Kilát executed an engagement binding his State to act in subordinate co-operation to the British Government, to enter into no negotiations without our consent, and to agree to a provision for the occupation of part of Kilát by British troops if occasion should arise.

Lord Mayo found our relations with Kilát perplexed by two distinct sets of complications—one external,

the other internal. The first referred to its frontier on the Persian side, which had never been settled, and which had for generations formed the arena of mutual aggressions and sanguinary raids. The internal complication arose from the ill-defined position of the Khán towards his nobility. According to one party in Kilát, he is the supreme ruler of the State; according to another, he is merely the head of a confederacy of chiefs. The net result was, that what between wars of extermination on the Persian frontier, and the chronic interneçine struggle between the royalist and oligarchic parties within the State, Kilát knew no rest, and might at any moment prove a troublesome neighbour. Her internal rebellions and her border feuds rendered it very difficult to discover with whom the actual authority rested, or how far it extended, and made it impossible for the British Government to take measures for the consolidation of the titular ruler's power.

Lord Mayo vigorously addressed himself to the solution of both the external and the internal problem in Kilát. His first step was to bring about a definite understanding with Persia in regard to the western or Mekrán boundary of Kilát. In 1869 he caused a letter to be written to our Minister at Teheran, urging that 'the question should be taken up and finally settled,' and that the alleged 'Persian aggressions should be set at rest once and for all, in consideration of a good and lasting understanding on the subject.' Shortly afterwards he wrote to the Home Government: 'It is for the best interests of

all the States concerned that steps should be taken to define the eastern boundaries of the Persian Empire. The condition of things that has existed for some years past can only serve to engender irritation and alarm, and to afford to Persia, and possibly to other Powers, a pretext for encroachments or interference with the affairs of countries over which they have no right to exercise control. Nor can such pretensions be regarded with indifference by the British Government in the East, whose aim it is to see independent and friendly Powers established between its own frontiers and the regions of Central Asia.' Elsewhere he thus again urged his views: 'The present uncertain state of affairs opens a wide field for intrigue, and occasions that feeling of uncertainty which among Orientals invariably gives rise to vague rumours, and to the uneasiness which reports about alliances on the part of the intermediate States 'with Russia, Turkey, or any other European Power, will always occasion.'

The Shah of Persia had rendered the settlement of the Mekrán or Western-Kilát boundary more urgent by continued encroachments, and by pretensions to the 'whole of the country between the boundaries of Sind and Bandar Abbass.' These pretensions, which at Teheran seemed the moderate enforcement of long-existing rights, were interpreted by the intervening States as acts of wanton aggression. It became clear to them, and indeed to the Indian Government also, that the question ultimately at issue amounted to an advance of the Persian frontier almost

up to our own. In September 1869 Lord Mayo's Government accordingly wrote to the Secretary of State: 'We believe that the establishment by Persia of a frontier conterminous with that of the British Empire in India would be an event most deeply to be deplored. If, without objection or effort on our part, a great Power like Persia should ever absorb the regions lying between Sind and the Mekrán,—desert and inhospitable though they may be,—the safe and prudent policy which we deem essential to British interests would be rudely terminated.' After indicating what might befall Persia herself in the attempt, he proceeded to show that it was her interest not less than ours, 'that she should enter into negotiations with Her Majesty's Government, for the purpose of effecting such a settlement of her eastern boundary as will prevent for the future aggressions on the part of her local Governors, like those which have lately occurred.' During many months he worked his way patiently but persistently to this end. 'We feel assured,' he again wrote in November 1869, 'that no measures will avail until Her Majesty's Government deal firmly and decidedly with the Shah, and once for all put an end to the continued disputes as to territory, which form a subject of constant anxiety, and which every day's delay renders more grave and complicated.'

The magnitude of the task might well make the Home Government reflect before entering upon it, and in the spring of 1870 we still find Lord Mayo vigorously urging his views. In May of that year

he wrote privately to a friend in England: 'Persia, by her policy of aggression in the Gulf, on the Mekrán coast, the Belúch frontier, and Sistán [Seistan], has got into what is rapidly proving for herself a very dangerous line. * If it were not for the influence we possess over Sher Ali, Afghánistán would probably now be at war with Persia. It is leading Persia into difficulty and danger to countenance her desire for annexation of territory. She should be advised to alter this policy—to restore to the rightful owner any territory she may have lately taken possession of. She should be told that all our influence would be used to protect her from attacks from Belúch or Afghán; that we can and will secure her present possessions in the Gulf. Her Ministers are ambitious, but I cannot help thinking a policy so sound and safe would, or rather must, be adopted by them if it is properly placed before them. Persia is not to be strengthened by yielding to pretensions which she cannot prove, or granting her territories which she cannot keep. I feel very strongly about this, as I am convinced that it is the only policy by which our great object can be secured, *i.e.* the maintenance of peace in Central and Southern Asia.'

Meanwhile, in the most pressing question, the boundary demarcation of Persia and Kilát, Lord Mayo had gained his point. Before the words above quoted reached England, an autograph letter from the Shah, dated 14th April 1870, had agreed to submit the matter to arbitration. 'If the British Government,' wrote His Majesty, 'is desirous that the said

line of frontier be traced, let commissioners be sent by the three parties to the frontier, that is to say, by England, Persia, and Kilát, and let them settle the boundary-line.' Acting under this consent, General Goldsmid was deputed in 1870 to carry out the work. The primary object of his mission had been the Sístán frontier, but the disturbed state of Herát rendering it impracticable for the Afghán ruler to send a commissioner there, General Goldsmid was ordered to proceed south to Belúchistán, and settle the Kilát boundary. He accordingly marched to Bampúr, the seat of the Government of Western Belúchistán, and thence to the sea, collecting sufficient geographical information to enable him in 1871 to draw up a convention which was accepted by both parties.¹ The actual demarcation of the frontier was effected by a subordinate commission under Major St. John, R.E., in the following year.

The settlement of this long-standing *casus belli* was only one of several instances in which Lord Mayo interfered firmly, and with the best results, for the establishment of peace in Asia. What he accomplished for Persia and Kilát, he was at the time of his death in the act of effecting between Persia and Afghánistán. General Goldsmid's decision in

¹ Mr. Alison to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated 1st September; and the Persian Foreign Minister's reply of the 4th *idem*. I ought to acknowledge the great help which I have derived throughout this chapter from various *précis* by the late Mr. Le Poer Wynne, Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. These pages have also had the advantage of being read in MS. by Major St. John, the engineer officer who carried out the practical details of demarcation.

the matter of Sístán was given on the 19th August 1872, and the impartial justice of his award at first satisfied neither of the claimants. But it has since been accepted by both. It is not to be expected that old-standing blood feuds can be allayed in a moment by the stroke of a diplomatist's pen. For more than a century each generation of the Perso-Afghán tribes has received and handed down a legacy of wrongs and reprisals, and each border village has its own running sores, not to be suddenly plastered over by parchments signed by high contracting parties at a distant Court. The pacification of such a frontier is a work of time. Meanwhile, the resolute will of Lord Mayo imposed a period of quiet upon these distant tribes, and laid the basis for ending by treaty the chronic devastations on the Perso-Afghán and Perso-Kilát borders. He had formed a plan for defining the entire eastern boundary of Persia, and for strengthening our diplomatic position at Teheran. I cannot more fitly conclude this part of my narrative than by selecting a few sentences from a confidential programme of his Persian policy, written by him just before his death :—

‘I appreciate to the fullest extent the importance of the establishment of friendly relations and a firm alliance with Persia. I believe that when her eastern frontier demarcation is settled, a source of jealousy and embarrassment as between her and ourselves will have ceased to exist; and I am happy to think that a portion of this important work [the Kilát line] is now finished. But in securing the independence and

good-will of the intermediate States lying immediately on our border, I in no way underrate the importance of maintaining the nationality of Persia, and of strengthening her power. Sir Henry Rawlinson points out with great truth that extension of territory would be to her perilous. It is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that I look forward to the definition of her entire eastern boundary, and trust that before next April [his own death took place in February] a line will be drawn, from Lash Jowain to the sea at Guadur, which will form the acknowledged frontier of the Empire of the Shah.

‘I concur with Sir Henry Rawlinson as to the absolute necessity of an immediate change in the relations of the Indian Government with the British Mission at Teheran. I heartily subscribe to every word he says as to the good influence which an able and energetic Anglo-Indian statesman would exercise over the mind of the present sovereign of Persia. The Indian Government could always supply an officer well fitted for the responsible duties which he would have to perform ; and seeing (as I constantly do) the enormous influence that a straightforward, courteous, able, and accomplished English gentleman can obtain in very little time over the minds of Asiatic rulers, I cannot but believe that the recommendation which has been repeatedly made by the present Indian Government would, if carried out, meet with certain success.’

It is perhaps scarcely needful to remind the reader, that during the most successful period of English

diplomacy in Asia, from the time of Malcolm, at the beginning of this century, down to the year before the Indian Mutiny, the task of dealing with Persia was, with the exception of a single brief period, conducted by officers of Indian experience.

In 1859 the Persian Embassy was formally made over to the Secretary of State for India, but was unfortunately transferred back again to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the following year, leaving the Indian Exchequer still liable for its expenses to the extent of £12,000 a year.

'I believe,' continues Lord Mayo, 'that if such an officer 'as I could readily name (many of whom we possess in this service) were stationed at the Court of Teheran, we should have little difficulty in showing to the Shah that the British influence in the Gulf is one of the best securities which His Majesty possesses for the integrity of his dominions and for the maintenance of peace. In the same way, I believe that nothing would be more fatal than that English influence should induce the Shah to make a movement northwards, and so bring himself into collision with Russia. It would be almost a crime on our part, for the purpose of attaining a temporary ascendancy in Persian politics, to urge her on so perilous a course as to attempt to extend her dominions, either in a north-westerly direction, or by encroachments upon Afghánistán or its feudatory tribes. We should also advise her to leave the affairs of the Gulf alone, to define her boundaries, and to endeavour, by something

approaching to a decent and honest Government, to strengthen herself internally.

‘ I have great doubts as to the expediency of the suggested employment of Indo-British military officers in the Persian service. I do not believe that British officers can directly and permanently serve Asiatic Powers either with credit to themselves or with benefit to those States. The ways of such States are not as our ways; and in peace as well as in war, officers placed in such a position must be cognisant of deeds, and participators to some extent in actions, of which no man of honour can approve. If British officers cannot be in supreme command, they should not enter on such service.

‘ If English officers were sent to Persia, other European Powers might press to be allowed to do the same thing, and we might soon find British officers struggling in the Persian ranks for supremacy with Russians or Frenchmen. In our present relations with Russia, we should view with great suspicion the employment in military commands in Persia of a number of the officers of the Imperial army. A similar proceeding on our part would probably call forth a strong remonstrance from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. I am not blind to the fact that Russia does exercise considerable influence in Persia. The Oriental character of her diplomacy enables her to employ means and influences which probably are beyond our reach. But I believe this can only be met, and a counter-influence obtained, by the employment of able and experienced agents, men who have

spent their lives in 'studying the Oriental character, and who will represent their sovereign in her capacity as Ruler of Hindustan.'

While Lord Mayo was thus bringing his influence to bear upon Persia to settle the external or Mekrán-frontier difficulty of Kilát, he displayed not less vigour in helping this State to solve her internal problem, and to evolve from her conflicting factions a stable and permanent central power. The task proved a most difficult one. Each of the great parties in Kilát had a real basis of right on which to found its claims. The nobles could show that they had frequently controlled the Khán, and compelled him to act as the head of a confederacy of chiefs rather than as a supreme ruler. The Khán could prove, that although he had from time to time succumbed to his rebellious barons, yet that he had only done so after a struggle, and that he had exercised his royal authority whenever he again found himself strong enough. The question resembled the worn-out discussion as to whether England was or was not a limited monarchy under the Plantagenets. The constitutional difficulties in Kilát were embittered by wrongs both great and recent on both sides; and at the time of Lord Mayo's death, its consolidation into a well-governed kingdom yet remained to be accomplished. He lived, however, to see his efforts bear fruit in a period of unwonted rest to its unhappy population, and to place the whole problem in a fair train for solution. Before his sudden end, he had the satis-

faction of being able to authorize Sir William Merewether to act as arbitrator between the Khán and his rebellious nobles, as he had previously employed General Goldsmid to adjust the external problem of Kilát between the Khán and the Sháh. The internal consolidation of a State is a work of time, not less than the pacification of its frontier. But in both these tasks Lord Mayo's short years of rule enabled him to accomplish much, and to leave behind him a policy full of promise for the future,—the future when Kilát might form one of a cordon of strong and well-governed States, with which it was the aim of his life to surround India.

Another of these States was Eastern TürkĒstán. Lord Mayo's Mekrán-Sístán arbitration had settled, or put in train for settlement, the western boundaries of Belúchistán and Afghánistán, as against Persia, from the Gulf northwards. His negotiations at St. Petersburg ended in the demarcation of the north-western and northern frontier of Afghánistán in the sense which he had proposed. By these varied means, and by firmly establishing our internal influence in Afghánistán and Kilát, he had surrounded the whole western and north-western frontier of India with friendly and well-defined States. In pursuance of the same system, he next turned his attention eastwards, to the great Muhammádan Power which now rules the countries of Central Ásia due north of the Panjáb.

This Power owes its rise to one of those recent revivals, partly religious and partly political, by which

Islám some time ago threatened to dismember the Chinese Empire. The Panthays had proved the efficacy of such a revival by the establishment of an independent Muhammadan State in the south-western extremity of China. The Tungánis, or Chinese Musalmáns of the Desert of Gobi, and of the outlying Provinces of Eastern Turkeistán due west of China, followed their example, and ended by raising their rebellion to the dignity of a holy war. Fierce adventurers flocked from the westward to join the Crescentade; the Chinese authorities were expelled; all who supported them were massacred; and in 1864 a new Musalmán Power, composed of very heterogeneous elements, found itself in possession of Eastern Turkeistán. The fanatical zeal which had enabled its reckless bands to crush the infidel, ceased to be a bond of union when they came to divide the spoil. Three hostile camps speedily developed,—one in the south-east, another in the north, and a third in the west of the provinces which they had conjointly torn from the Chinese Empire. The western army had its headquarters at Kashgar, under Yakúb Kúshbegí, a brave soldier of fortune who had risen to the command of the troops from Kokand. A bloody struggle followed, from which Yakúb emerged the victor. In 1866 he had captured Yárkand from the Tungánis; before the end of 1867, both the southern and northern camps had succumbed, and Khoten, Ush-Túrfán, Aksú, and Kúcha had acknowledged his sway. In 1868 he stands forth as the undisputed ruler of the Altíshahr, or Six Cities of Eastern Turkeistán. Before the end

of 1869 he had consolidated his power throughout the vast central territory which stretches eastwards from the Pamír Steppe to the Chinese frontier, and from the British-protected State of Kashmír on the south to the Russian outposts on the Shan and Muzart ranges on the north.¹

When, therefore, Lord Mayo received charge of India, he found Eastern Turkestan in a condition somewhat analogous to that of Afghánistán. Each of these countries had formed the arena of a fierce internal struggle during the whole period of Sir John Lawrence's Viceroyalty, and in both the struggle had ended in the establishment of a firm central power. Amír Sher Alí had come forth finally triumphant from the family War of Succession in Afghánistán, as Yakúb Kúshbegí had come forth from the conflict of races and creeds in Turkestan. But in Afghánistán the work of consolidation had proceeded so far as to warrant Sir John Lawrence, in acknowledging Sher Alí as ruler, and in laying down the lines of that policy of recognition and amity which Lord Mayo successfully carried out. In Eastern Turkestan the Kúshbegí, or Atáligh Ghází as he is now called (Defender of the Faith), had not consolidated his power to the same extent, and Lord Mayo found it needful

¹ I condense my brief summary of Turkestan affairs partly from official papers, partly from Von Hellwald's *Russians in Central Asia*, and partly from an article entitled 'Western China,' in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1868, by Mr. J. W. Wyllie, C.S.I. (sometime Acting Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department). This article will be reprinted in my forthcoming edition of Mr. Wyllie's *Essays on the External Policy of India*. A fitting continuation of Mr. Wyllie's article may be found in the late admirable essay on the same subject (*Edinburgh Review*, 1874).

to feel his way with great care in his relations with this State.

He based his policy on the same principles as those which Sir John Lawrence had acted upon in the other newly consolidated kingdom of Afghánistán. He left the native ruler to take the initiative, and then he proceeded very cautiously to find out whether the actual circumstances justified the Indian Government in entering on the relations proposed. These circumstances have little to do with abstract questions of title. They depend on the circumstance of acknowledged *de facto* possession. *De jure* claims and abstract rights would form a most perilous basis for diplomacy among the ever-shifting kingdoms of Asia.

In December 1869 the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb telegraphed to the Viceroy that an envoy from the Kúshbegí had arrived at Leh on his way to British territory. Our only knowledge of his master had come through the inquiries of Mr. Johnstone, an enterprising officer of the Indian Survey Department, in 1865, together with the more recent accounts of Lieutenant Haward and Mr. Shaw, two private travellers who had just returned from Eastern Turkestan. Now, for the first time, the new Power in Central Asia came within the official horizon of the Indian Government. Orders were issued for the honourable reception of the envoy, and for nothing more. On the 29th January 1870 he reached Lahor, the capital of the Panjáb, with letters from his master to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Viceroy, and Her Majesty the Queen; and after a short stay in

Northern India, laid his credentials before Lord Mayo, at an interview in Calcutta towards the end of March. Among other matters, he was to solicit that a British officer might accompany him back on a friendly visit to his master, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan.

After careful inquiries into the actual position and *de facto* authority of the Atáligh Ghází in his recently consolidated territories, Lord Mayo assented to this last request. He selected Mr., now Sir, Douglas Forsyth (the eminent Indian civilian whom we have already seen at St. Petersburg) for the work, and very minutely defined his powers and the objects of his journey. Mr. Forsyth's instructions were to go to Yárkand, the southern capital of Eastern Turkestan, on a merely friendly visit, with a view to obtaining information regarding the country and removing the obstacles in the way of our already existing trade with it. In no sense was the visit to be a mission, nor was it to have a diplomatic object. He was to abstain from taking part in any political questions, or in any internal disputes, further than repeating the general advice already given to the Atáligh's envoy by Lord Mayo: namely, that the Atáligh Ghází would best consult the interests of his kingdom by a watchful, just, and vigorous government; by strengthening the defences of his frontier; and above all, by not interfering in the political affairs of other States, or in the quarrels of chiefs or tribes that did not directly concern his own interests. Mr. Forsyth was to limit his stay in the country, so as to run no risk of finding the

Himalayan passes closed by the winter's snow, and of thus being detained in Yárkand till the following year. He was to collect full and trustworthy information concerning the nature and resources of Eastern Túrkeistán and the neighbouring countries, their past history, their present political condition, their capabilities for trade, the Indian staples most in demand, their price in the Yárkand market, and the articles which could be most profitably brought to India in exchange.

Mr. Douglas Forsyth left Jalandár, in the Panjáb, on the 26th April 1870, and marched through Kashmír to Leh, where he was to be joined by the Yárkand envoy, and whence the united party were to start for Turkeistán in the first half of June. But early in that month information reached Lord Mayo that disturbances had broken out in Turkeistán. The state of peace, which had formed the fundamental condition of his permitting a British officer to proceed thither, had ceased. Lord Mayo therefore hurried out orders after Mr. Forsyth, which reached him in Kashmír, to make the most careful inquiries before he proceeded further; and that unless he could satisfy himself that the general state of peace which had been represented to exist up to the date of his departure still continued, he was to break off his journey and return to India forthwith. Mr. Forsyth made the inquiries as directed, but nothing had been heard of the alleged disturbances, either in Kashmír, or at Leh, or on the road thither, or by the Yárkand envoy himself. He therefore continued his journey across the

Himalayan passes, ascending to 19,400 feet above the level of the sea,¹ far within the regions of eternal snow. By the end of July the difficulties of the passage had been accomplished, and on the 7th August Mr. Forsyth and his little party of savants and followers commenced their march as guests of the Atáligh Ghází in Yárkand territory. They now began to find out the exact amount of truth in the alleged disturbances. It appeared that although the southern and central provinces, Yárkand and Kashgár, were in peace, the Atáligh was engaged in hostilities in a distant part of his dominions. Mr. Forsyth, acting in the spirit of the Viceroy's instructions, at once announced his intention to return; but went on as far as the southern capital, Yárkand, to refit his camp with the provisions and beasts of burden necessary for recrossing the passes.

Here he was received by the Atáligh's vicegerent with great cordiality, and profuse regrets for his master's enforced absence at the seat of war. The Atáligh had ordered a completely new Residency to be built for the party; and various feints were made, under the guise of hospitality and inability to refit their camp for the journey, to detain them till the Atáligh's return. But Mr. Forsyth adhered to his resolution. Lord Mayo had permitted him to accompany the Atáligh's envoy only on the solemn assurance that the Atáligh had completely consolidated his power, and that unbroken peace reigned throughout

¹ Masimik Pass, ninth day's march from Leh, 19,400 feet according to Johnstone, 18,457 feet according to Haward.

his dominions. The actual facts not proving in accord with these assurances, the basis on which the journey had been undertaken ceased to exist. The Atáligh's vicegerent entreated and beseeched, loaded the members of the expedition with presents, but at last was calmed by a 'certificate' from Mr. Forsyth that his departure was his own (Mr. Forsyth's) act, and that the vicegerent had done nothing to facilitate it. After learning everything that could be picked up by personal observation and inquiry in Yárkand, Mr. Forsyth led his party back to India by a new route.

Although he had not carried out the nominal object of his journey, to personally convey to the Atáligh the friendly sentiments of Her Majesty's Indian Government, his expedition proved a signal success. In the first place, he brought back all the necessary information regarding the most practicable routes, the commercial capabilities and the political resources of the country, its recent history, and the actual position of its ruler. Mr. Forsyth's report holds an honourable place in the illustrious *catena* of State Papers in the Indian Foreign Office, and marked him out for the important part which he has since played in Central Asian diplomacy. In the second place, his visit formed a public evidence of the friendly sentiments of the British Power. But, in the third place, his departure conveyed a warning (without affording any just ground to the Atáligh for taking offence) that candid dealing is the only foundation for transacting business with Her Majesty's Indian Government; that assurances must accurately correspond with the

facts; and that, when an English officer finds himself in a false position from their not doing so, he knows how, by a firm adherence to his orders, to break through the meshes which encircle him.

- The advocates of extreme vigour in our relations
- with Central Asia thought, and still think, that Lord Mayo acted in this matter with too great caution. They believe that his instructions unwisely hampered Mr. Forsyth, and that it would have been well had this gentleman remained over the winter at Yárkand, till the Atáligh finished his war and found leisure to meet him. But the public sense throughout India, and the official view of Lord Mayo's advisers, arrived at an opposite conclusion. It would have been an act of culpable rashness for the Viceroy to enter into, or run the slightest chance of finding himself forced into, close relations with a Central Asian ruler, without first absolutely ascertaining the *de facto* solidity of his sway. Those who think that Lord Mayo evinced too great caution forget the newness and the imperfect consolidation of the Atáligh's power. They forget, too, that up to this time, and for many months afterwards, Russia refused to acknowledge the separate existence of Eastern Turkestan at all, and treated its ruler as a soldier of fortune at the head of a rebel confederacy against the Chinese Empire. Lord Mayo, at the earnest solicitation of the Atáligh, sent Mr. Forsyth to ascertain the actual facts. Mr. Forsyth did what he was sent to do with calm self-repression and dignity. The lesson of mingled firmness and goodwill which the visit taught to the ruler of Eastern

Turkestan, has borne fruit in his relations with us since.

As a part of the same policy, Lord Mayo opened up a free trade-route through the Chang Chenmu valley by a treaty with Kashmír, and placed the transit of Indian merchandise across the Himalayas on a secure basis. The trade which will pay the cost of carriage across the snowy altitudes of Central Asia can never seem great, when expressed in figures and compared with the enormous sea-borne exports and imports of India. But it is a very lucrative one to certain classes in the inland and warlike Province of the Panjáb, whose population we are trying to habituate to peaceful industry by every ameliorating influence of wealth and commerce. Lord Mayo's measures removed the political impediments from the trans-Himalayan route, and the trade has rapidly developed (within its limited capabilities) ever since. In 1873 it amounted to close on £60,000. Our merchants have found themselves respected and well treated throughout the distant dominions of the Atáligh Ghází, and Eastern Turkestan has become a recognised and most profitable market for British goods. From Mr. Forsyth's expedition in 1870 dates the first appearance of the turning back of Russian commerce in Central Asia, before the advancing tide of English enterprise. The Russians have the prescriptive hold of the trade, but the markets of Central Asia are large enough for us both; and every season has seen the Indian merchant more firmly established in Eastern Turkestan.

In 1873 another ambassador came from the Atáligh Ghází to Lord Mayo's successor, to beg that an accredited English envoy might return with him to frame a commercial treaty. Mr. (now Sir) Douglas Forsyth was accordingly sent back with him, and on the 2d February 1874 signed the wished-for treaty at Yárkand, securing every facility which a political engagement between States can afford to commerce.

I have now described the measures which Lord Mayo took in pursuance of his fixed resolve to create a cordon of friendly and well-governed States on our western and northern frontier, from Belúchistán on the Persian Gulf, round by Afghánistán, to Eastern Turkeistán. He acted in the same spirit to his neighbours along the north-eastern and south-eastern borders of the British dominions. Towards Nepal he maintained an attitude alike firm, friendly, and dignified, and consolidated the satisfactory relations which he found existing with that State. On the north-east of Bengal he may be said to have created a frontier, and the Lushai Expedition, recorded on a previous page, has given to those long distracted regions a period of quiet and peace. Proceeding farther south, we find him equally busy in Burmah, suppressing the warlike propensities of the king, developing trade relations, and enforcing respect for the British Power. But the hard work of his foreign policy lay on the western and north-western frontier, and I have given so much space to its narration, that I must close this chapter without branching out into less essential details.

What that work really amounted to may be estimated from the two following paragraphs, written by Sir John Strachey after Lord Mayo's death.

‘There is hardly one of the kingdoms that border on our Indian Empire of which it may not truly be said, that peace and settled government have been unknown in it for ages. The history of one and all of them, from Oman to Yárkand, is a record of wars, revolutions, and dynastic changes, succeeding each other with such rapidity as to leave in the mind of the reader only a confused feeling of bewilderment. This chronic state of turbulence and disorder, destructive of ancient landmarks and boundaries, and producing only weakness and disintegration, both provokes and invites annexation. It ruins commerce, destroys the productiveness of the soil, scares away peaceful traders who have an interest in the preservation of order and settled government, creates a permanent class whose interest it is to perpetuate anarchy, and produces isolation, jealousy, and distrust in the countries that suffer from its curse. It was this state of things in India which forced on the extension of the British Empire to the mountains beyond the Indus. It is this state of things more than lust of conquest that has extended, in spite of herself, the dominion of Russia in Asia.

‘To apply a radical remedy to these evils was the main object of Lord Mayo's foreign policy. Honestly proclaiming and showing by his acts that the spectre of annexation was laid for ever, he taught our neighbours that they have nothing to fear from

us. By bringing about a common understanding between the countries on our frontier as to their mutual boundaries, he sought to remove every pretext for war and aggression. By assisting the rulers of these States to strengthen their internal government, and by bringing both his own personal influence and the moral support of the British Government to bear in putting down rebellions and revolutions, he endeavoured to establish firm, just, and merciful government. By the encouragement and development of trade, he hoped to break down the barriers which isolate those countries from us, and to create, both within and beyond our frontier, a permanent interest in the maintenance of good order. By free and friendly intercommunication, he desired to remove that ignorance as to our policy and that jealousy of our intentions which in past years have been so fruitful of mischief. And, lastly, by endeavouring through frank and amicable discussion with the Russian Government to secure the adoption on their part of a similar policy in the countries on the Russian frontier in Asia which are subject to Russian influence, it was his hope that he would be instrumental in securing some degree of peace and prosperity to the exhausted countries of Central Asia, and in removing the causes of disquietude as to the designs of England and Russia, which have been so prominent in the public mind in both countries.'

All this he accomplished without bloodshed, bribery, or intrigue of any sort. He plainly told his Feudatory Princes and the Frontier Rulers what

he had resolved to do. And he did it. Did it, too, without making a single enemy to the British Power, and without leaving any sentiment but one of friendly confidence in the minds of the rulers whom he moulded to his will. The great and passionate outburst of grief which took place in every Native Court at his death has no parallel in Indian history. Russia had changed her attitude of watchful suspicion to one of trustful co-operation; and from the Emperor in person and Prince Gortchakow, down to the individual heads of the Departments connected with Eastern affairs, her leading men expressed to our Ministers and elsewhere their sense of the loss which all Asia had sustained in the death of Lord Mayo. 'His Majesty added,' wrote Lord A. Loftus, 'that he had fully appreciated the noble qualities of the late Viceroy, and his conciliatory policy in Central Asia, which had so much contributed to the good relations between Russia and England.' The Amír of Afghánistán, who had come to him in 1869 expecting so much, and who had gone away contented with so little, has recorded his sorrow with not less sincerity, although in an Oriental form: 'By this terrible and unforeseen stroke, my heart has been overwhelmed with anguish. It can scarcely happen in these evil days that the world will again see one so beloved and respected by all men. The great and the wise have ever regarded this transitory earth as a resting-place for a night, and have never ceased to remind their fellows that they must pass beyond it and leave all behind. Nought remains to the friends of him who is gone

but resignation and patience. The unvarying kindness which he had shown to me had determined me, if the affairs of Afghánistán permitted, to accompany His Excellency on his return to England, to present myself before the Queen, and to benefit by travel in Europe. Before the eternally predestined decrees, man must bow in silence. What more can be said or written by me to express my grief?'¹ He sent another and a more touching letter to Lady Mayo. The condolences from the Native Princes and neighbouring States which have come into my possession make a small volume.

I have dwelt at considerable length on Lord Mayo's foreign policy; for such as it was, for good or for evil, it was essentially his own. With the exception of a short period at the commencement of his rule, when he had the advantage of the able and upright counsels of Sir Henry Durand, he was his own Foreign Minister, and himself the initiating Member of Council for Foreign Affairs. Hence the abundant personal notes from his pen which go so largely to make up this chapter. He worked the Foreign Department almost solely through its Secretary. Lord Mayo, after an impartial review of the qualifications of many officers named for this post, selected a comparatively junior civilian who was personally unknown to himself, and appointed him to the permanent Secretaryship at the early age of less than fourteen years' service. Subsequent events have amply justified the Earl of Mayo's choice. In a

¹ The Amír of Afghánistán to the Governor-General of India.

Department of which the Viceroy is himself the initiating Member of Council; much business has to be arranged and laid out for him by his Private Secretary. In his selection for this post also Lord Mayo was most fortunate. The careers of the two gentlemen alluded to lie so far apart from my own, that I may break through my rule of reticence regarding the personal qualities of living men. In Major Owen Burne,¹ Lord Mayo had a Private Secretary who has since won for himself the most important post in the permanent direction of Indian Foreign Affairs in England; and in Mr. Charles Umpherston Aitchison, C.S.I., he had a Foreign Secretary who has marked himself out, in a way not to be mistaken, for the highest honours and the highest commands which reward an Indian civilian's career.

¹ Now Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, C.S.I., Political Secretary at the India Office, London.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.



THE EARL OF MAYO'S SPEECH ON THE
STATE OF IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 10TH MARCH 1868.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN treating of the Earl of Mayo's Parliamentary career, I reserved several questions for the Appendix, and proposed to reprint certain documents which had been placed in my hands. In particular, I intended to deal with the Fenian agitations by this method. But in preparing the manuscript for the press, it seemed to me that it contained passages which would cause pain, reawaken bitter memories, and distinctly transgress the injunction which Lord Mayo's Will laid upon his Executors of publishing nothing calculated to wound the feelings of friend or foe. On the question being referred to the gentleman from whom the papers were obtained, he took the same view, and accordingly they will not appear here.

In place of them I give extracts from the concluding half of the Earl of Mayo's Speech in the House of Commons on the State of Ireland, 10th March 1868. This Speech was delivered by Lord Mayo, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, in reply to Mr. Maguire's motion, and has been referred to at pp. 87 *et seq.* of the foregoing Volume. The first half proved, by an elaborate and a valuable array of statistics, the material progress which had taken place in Ireland during the preceding years; the concluding sections enunciated the views of Lord Mayo and his colleagues on the Irish Land question, Irish Education, and the Irish Church.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS from the concluding part of the EARL OF MAYO'S SPEECH on the STATE OF IRELAND. House of Commons, 10th March 1868.

SIR,—I think I have now shown that there is nothing in the present state of Ireland to evidence a state of decay or decline. It remains to me to refer, as briefly as I can, to some of the proposals that have been made with respect to the land of Ireland since the House met last year. Certainly there is no lack of physicians. There have been no end of prescriptions ; but I think that if some of them were adopted they would make matters much worse than they are. I will advert to three or four of the notable proposals which have been made lately for dealing with the land of Ireland. There has been a proposition made by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), another by the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. Stuart Mill), and a third by the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Sir John Gray), all of which have obtained a considerable amount of public attention. They all tend to one thing—namely, in different ways to establish fixity of tenure ; or, in other words, a peasant proprietorship in Ireland. The hon. Member for Birmingham proposes that the money of the State shall be lent for the purchase of land in Ireland, to be repaid by the tenant, as are the land improvement loans ; and that a certain amount

of money shall be added to the rent until the value of the farm is repaid. The hon. Member for Westminster goes much further, for he would deal with the whole land of Ireland. He would issue a Commission to ascertain its value; he would buy it all up, and re-let it by the State to tenants for ever for a yearly rent. The hon. Member for Kilkenny proposes that a law should be passed which would give fixity of tenure to every farmer in Ireland; that the landlord's interest should be a mere rent-charge on the estate; and that the landlord should have nothing to do except to receive the rents.

In considering these proposals, it appears to me that the House ought to inquire for a moment as to what has been the tendency of similar measures in other countries, and what the state of things would be if they were adopted in Ireland, and if we found ourselves in the act of creating or of having created a large peasant proprietary in that country. One of the great arguments put forward in support of peasant proprietary is its supposed Conservative tendency. It is said that its effect is to get rid of discontent and disaffection, and that you always find in countries having a peasant proprietary political contentment and safety from revolution. That is a very attractive theory if it were true. But is it the case that, in countries where a peasant proprietary exists, a greater respect prevails for the rights of property and for the institutions of the State than in other countries? We must all admit that a respect for the rights of property is, next to the safety of life, the first object of all law, and the most important test of civilisation. If I compare France and England in these respects, I find that, as regards England, although no system of peasant proprietary exists, and it is a country of large landed proprietors and tenant-farmers, yet there is no country in the world where the rights of property are so much respected. If I take France, where a peasant

proprietary exists in a great part of the country, it will be found that, from time to time, the wildest views and the most subversive theories as to those rights have been promulgated and actually accepted by a great portion of the population. I think it will be found that at no remote period doctrines on these subjects were popular, which have never been adopted by any large portion of the people of this country. The experience of foreign countries, then, does not show that the existence of a peasant proprietary secures you from dangerous theories and discontent. Switzerland, which of all the countries of Europe has been quoted as a favourable precedent of the system of small holdings, was so lately as 1847 the scene of much civil disturbance in almost every canton. In 1848, in Austria, in Germany, and in Sardinia, the same results took place. Unfortunately for the argument, those countries which had the least to apprehend from a movement like that of 1848, which upset thrones and destroyed established Governments, were those very countries where small proprietors and the subdivision of land did not exist. But, Sir, these schemes are put forward as adapted for Ireland because it is broadly stated that those residing in the agricultural parts of the country, and engaged in the occupation of land, are thoroughly discontented and disaffected. If the fact be as is stated, and if the whole agricultural population of Ireland is thoroughly disloyal, some very stringent remedy might be necessary. But what are the tests of disloyalty? I am not prepared to say that among those engaged in agricultural pursuits, and particularly in the South of Ireland, there is not a certain amount of sympathy with disaffection. But the tests of active disloyalty and discontent are, firstly, emigration; secondly, the engaging in treasonable practices; and, thirdly, the existence of agrarian crime. Now I believe that, as far as you can judge from these three symptoms, disaffection and disloyalty do not prevail to any considerable •

extent among the occupiers of land. With regard to emigration, it is found that the occupiers and holders of the soil are not leaving the country. There has been an enormous exodus, but it is gradually ceasing. It has been stated by Lord Dufferin in his book, and it has never been denied, that of the whole number of Irish emigrants in the years 1865 and 1866—and I believe the same thing holds good in regard to the year 1867—only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. consisted of men who were engaged in the occupation of land. So that, if emigration be a sign of disaffection and discontent, it certainly does not exist to any considerable extent among the tillers of the soil. Then, with respect to treasonable practices, it must be admitted that their non-existence among the agricultural population of Ireland is a sign of the absence of active disloyalty and discontent. The hon. Member for Cork seems to despise facts; but I shall give him another in addition to those I mentioned the other night relating to this point. I have taken the trouble to ascertain the proportion of farmers and men holding land in Ireland who have been arrested on suspicion of being participators in treasonable practices since the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and I find that, out of the whole number of persons who have been so arrested during the last three years—namely, 1100—only fifty-six of them were men in the occupation of land. As this statement has been very much criticised, I have made a very careful analysis of those fifty-six men; and I find, from the nominal Return which I have in my hand of the fifty-six persons described as farmers, that only twenty-four of them were men who actually lived by the land; that the remainder were either farmers' sons or persons indirectly connected with land; and that, in reality, out of the 1100 men arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, only twenty-four, instead of fifty-six, were engaged in the occupation of the soil. Then, turning to agrarian crime, certainly there

was a time when that species of outrage was very common in Ireland; and if there was now so much dissatisfaction and discontent, so much undue competition for land—if the land question was a source of so much heartburning and disaffection as it is said to be—surely we might expect that there would be no diminution in that great mass of agrarian crime which so long disfigured our annals. Well, what are the facts on this point? The number of agrarian outrages specially reported by the constabulary for the last twenty-two years are as follows:—1844, 1001; 1851, 1013; 1861, 229; 1865, 178; 1866, 87. Sir, this is a most remarkable illustration of the untruth of the assertion that the entire tenantry of Ireland, as a class, is thoroughly dissatisfied; because, when we know how deeply they resent anything which they regard as interfering with their fancied rights in the land, and how that resentment led in past times to the commission of fearful crimes, surely it is most satisfactory to find that, while in the year 1851 there were 1000 cases of agrarian outrage reported, yet in 1866 only 87 were reported in the whole of Ireland.

I will now attempt to address to the House some remarks as to the course which we have followed in Ireland, and the policy which we intend to pursue. Since we have been entrusted with the government of the country we have endeavoured to adhere as nearly as possible to the principles laid down by Lord Derby when he took office two years ago. Lord Derby then said:—

‘I believe that a Government in Ireland which shows itself determined to do its duty by all ranks and classes, may hope to receive the support of a large majority of the Irish people, than whom there are no greater lovers of impartial justice. We do not propose in our government of Ireland to act on any exclusive principle. We desire to obtain the co-operation of all who have at heart the peace and tranquillity of—

the country, the maintenance of the rights of property, and the putting down of unlawful associations.'

To that policy we have strictly adhered. In the treatment of Irish questions it requires much more courage to take a moderate and impartial course than to attach oneself violently to one party or the other. Men engaged in conducting the affairs of Ireland may gain popularity by attaching themselves to this side or that; but if you wish to govern Ireland properly, you must despise popularity gained by such means, and must go fairly and boldly forward in a straightforward and impartial course.

There are three great and important questions which now occupy the public mind as regards Ireland. There is, first, what may be called the Land question. Now, I think any one who approaches the consideration of this subject must do so with a feeling somewhat akin to despair. For the last twenty-five years almost every Ministry has attempted to deal with it; nor has it been from any indisposition on the part of the House to legislate upon the matter that success has not been attained. The reason for this invariable failure is that the difficulties of the question are enormous, and that it is nearly impossible to provide by Act of Parliament for the endless variety of condition under which land is held. Last year I introduced a Bill which would have done much towards settling the question—a Bill which has been described by an able writer as one of the greatest boons ever offered to the tenantry of any country. It had this important feature, which I think was a new one, that it offered a simple and easy means of registering improvements made by tenants. That was a difficulty which had always been experienced in legislating upon this subject, for any scheme has little or no prospect of success which does not devise an easy method of recording the nature of the improvement when it is made. Without such a provision there can be no security against

fraud and dispute. The Bill did not profess to deal with the question of tenure; it was limited to one portion of the subject—that of providing an easy mode of securing for the tenant compensation for improvements made by himself,—an object which all the Bills that had been introduced on this subject had had in view. If, therefore, in the opinion of the hon. gentlemen opposite, it be necessary to go further into the matter and deal with tenure, a different course would have to be taken from that which I proposed last year. That Bill, I must say, was not received in a very encouraging manner by hon. members opposite, nor did it even elicit very warm approval from some of my friends on this side of the House. I shall ever regret that it was not amply discussed; for if the business of the House had allowed it to be more fully considered, I believe many of the objections taken against it would have been refuted. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Gregory) affirmed that it would be of little or no use, and that compensation was all moonshine. I still believe, however, that the House would do well to deal with the question of compensation, the question of leasing powers for the purpose of improvements, and the question of contracts, leaving aside the subject of tenure. I propose, therefore, during the present Session, to introduce a Bill very similar to that of last year. I propose to include in it provision for increased powers of improvement by limited owners, and for the encouragement of written contracts. I have a strong opinion that there is truth in the objections preferred against the parole tenancy which is so general in Ireland. There is no such thing as a tenant-at-will; but the greater portion of the occupations are held by a parole agreement, which in law is held to be a tenancy from year to year. That system has great disadvantages, and I believe that both landlords and tenants feel that it would be very desirable that all lettings should be by written contract.

The provisions for tenants' compensations will not be in all respects identical with those proposed last year ; but I hope to be able to show that, without interfering with the rights of property, they will give to the holders of land an easy means of securing monies which he may lay out in improvements ; and, under certain conditions, will offer loans to him for the same object. I believe the Bill will be found to be as comprehensive a one as the House is likely to accept. I hope that the result may be that we shall arrive at something like general agreement on two or three branches of the question, and thus pass a measure which will be productive of great and substantial advantages. Therefore I would entreat hon. gentlemen opposite to consider favourably the proposals which I shall make ; and that if we cannot do all that they would wish or think desirable, yet that, at all events, we might take some steps in the present Session to endeavour to give to Irish tenants full and ample means for securing money laid out by them in the *bona fide* improvement of the land. The Bill will be introduced immediately, and the Government will endeavour to the utmost of their power to pass it into law during the present Session. But, Sir, in addition to this, seeing the magnitude to which this subject has attained—seeing also the excitement and uncertainty which prevails in the public mind with respect to it—we propose at the earliest possible moment to institute a solemn inquiry into the whole state of the relations between landlord and tenant. We have come to this determination because statements are made and put forward by the highest authorities, both in and out of the House, which have led a portion of the public to believe that there is a great and an immediate necessity for the passing of measures with regard to Ireland, which have been termed, even by those who proposed them, of a revolutionary character.

I would remind the House of the danger to Ireland, as

well as to the Empire, of keeping this question open. It is a question that ought to be set at rest, and for ever; and considering the great demands put forward on the one side, and looking at the manner in which they have been received by a large portion of the public, I do not believe the question ever can be settled until more information is placed at the disposal of the House. Persons are now asking, 'Are these statements true? Is it possible that, in a country so near to England, laws relating to the land so closely similar to our own should have such a different effect?' There is an additional reason why this inquiry is necessary. I have shown that there are few countries in the world in which changes so rapid and extensive have taken place as have occurred in Ireland within the last few years. Since the Devon Commission sat we have had a great emigration, with an enormous change of property, through the operation of the Landed Estates Court; and we have also had a great alteration in the numbers and characters of the occupiers of land. We therefore propose an inquiry into the whole subject. Although there have been inquiries and investigations, they have generally been of a partial character; and I believe that the landlords on the one side, and those who represent the tenants on the other, never have had the opportunity of deliberately and patiently setting forth their respective cases. The inquiry need not be long, but it should be conducted on the spot; and we hope that we shall be able to secure men of sufficient position, character, and knowledge to conduct it with success. The Commission will have to investigate the operation of the laws that regulate the tenure of land in Ireland, the arrangements and customs that exist between landlord and tenant, the system which prevails for compensation for improvements, the operation of the Encumbered Estates Court, and the effect which emigration has had on the condition of the agricultural class. I

believe the result of this inquiry will be to show that the state of things really existing in Ireland is very different from what it is represented to be, and that there has been much exaggeration and false statement. I cannot but think that it is most undesirable the House should proceed to any legislation further than that proposed either by myself or the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Chichester Fortescue), without some inquiry whether such legislation is needed at all.

I propose on a very early day to introduce a Bill for the Amendment of the Representation of the People in Ireland. With regard to the important question of railway communication, I need not say that a large amount of dissatisfaction exists respecting the management of the companies; and we have proposed—with the concurrence, I believe, of men of all parties—to inquire into that matter. Though this may cause some amusement to hon. members below the gangway, who think of nothing but grievances of sentiment, I believe that there is no question of more importance to Ireland—none by which a greater boon can be conferred upon the country, than by taking some means to improve the management and increase the efficiency of the railways in Ireland; and I am not without hope that we shall be able to make a proposal to the House on that subject during the present Session.

We have submitted the whole question of primary education in Ireland to a Royal Commission. That Commission is already at work. I regret very much that, owing to a most unfortunate circumstance, the commencement of its labours has been delayed; but this was unavoidable, for it arose from the great loss the country has sustained in the death of one of its most distinguished sons, the Earl of Rosse—who had consented to preside over it, who entirely approved of its appointment, and whose assistance and guidance would

have been of great value. We have endeavoured to constitute that Commission fairly ; to represent men thereon of all classes, creeds, and opinions—men who have given much attention to the subject ; and when I state that upon the Commission we have eight Roman Catholics and eight Protestants ; that of the two secretaries, one is a Protestant, the other a Roman Catholic ; that men representing every shade of opinion on educational matters are to be found among its members, and that they will pursue their labours with the greatest desire to come to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, we may anticipate the most favourable results. With regard to the question of University education in Ireland, we are going to take a different course. There are two Universities now existing in Ireland. The one is the Dublin University, the other the Queen's University, which is an institution of later growth. The Dublin University has been established for nearly three hundred years. It was founded by Queen Elizabeth for the avowed purpose of encouraging and establishing the Protestant religion in Ireland. But though it was established for that purpose, and though it has ever retained its Protestant character—the governing body being always Protestant—it has been conspicuous among all Universities for liberality. For a great number of years the prizes of this University, with the exception of the Fellowships and a few foundation Scholarships, have been open to students of all denominations and creeds ; although the governing body is composed exclusively of Protestants, the advantages of the institution are free to all ; several Professorships may be, and in fact are at the present time, held by Roman Catholics, while there is no interference whatever with the religious scruples of the students.

In this respect an admirable example has been set by the University of Dublin, which ever since 1793 has led the way in all the questions of University reform. The result of this

system of education has been, that not only has this University been frequented by the Protestant population of Ireland, but it has also conferred the advantages of a sound University education upon numbers of Roman Catholics and Dissenters, who have subsequently attained high professional or literary distinction. Of all the institutions which have been established in Ireland, this University is the most prosperous and healthy. There are now in Ireland 5000 graduates who have taken their degrees in it, and who regard it with affection and veneration ; and I do not believe that there is to be found among any class in Ireland any considerable body of men who are opposed to this University, or to the system of education adopted there. If that be so, it would be an act of the greatest madness and impolicy to attempt to disturb an institution which stands so deservedly high in the estimation of a great portion of the Irish people. Then, again, the Queen's University has done its work admirably. The fundamental principle upon which it was founded was announced by Sir James Graham, in introducing the Bill by which it was established, to be the absence of all interference, positive or negative, with the conscientious scruples of the students in matters of religion, and that principle has been strictly adhered to. It is a principle which has been supported by a number of the ablest and best men of Ireland, and has attracted a great number of persons of all creeds who were in search of a University education. But under that principle religious teaching forms no part whatever of the system of education, and the governing body is elected without any reference to their religious creed. There can be no doubt that since its establishment the Queen's University has done good service in the education of the Irish people ; and I feel bound to state my opinion upon this point the more distinctly, because I was accused last year by hon. and right hon. members opposite of having said that the institu-

tion had been unsuccessful. What I said on the occasion to which reference has been made was, that while the Queen's University had done a great work in Ireland, it had failed to attract support from a certain portion of the people.

I have now stated the exact position in which the two Irish Universities are placed. There exists, however, a large class in Ireland to whom the system adopted at neither University is acceptable, and who, therefore, decline to avail themselves of the advantages they offer. There is a large number of persons who object to send their sons to a University where the only religion taught is one that they do not profess; and there are also many who will not send their sons to a College where religious teaching does not form a portion of the system of education. Are these objections unreasonable? I ask this House to consider whether there are not many among us who would have the same objection to send their sons to Universities where the Roman Catholic religion alone was taught, or where all religious instruction was studiously omitted? That is the case here, and there have been various modes proposed for meeting these objections. The late Government attempted to remedy the grievance by the issue of a supplemental charter to the Queen's University, but that was resisted; and I believe that many of those who at first were in favour of the supplemental charter are now convinced that, if that charter had been carried, it would not have met any of the objections taken to the existing systems. But we believe that a plan may be devised by which, without interfering with, or restricting, or hindering the work of the two Universities, another institution may be erected which will not be a dangerous rival to them.

I have no doubt that, if we could now begin at the beginning, the best course for us to take would be to establish one University for the whole country. I am aware of the strong

—I may almost say, the unanswerable arguments in favour of such a course. But such a state of things no longer exists. We have already two institutions which are deeply rooted in the affections of their adherents. We know what a strong and eventually successful opposition was raised to the supplemental charter for the Queen's University. No attempt has been made to interfere with Trinity College; but I am persuaded that if it were, the opposition raised would be more formidable, and still more successful. I believe that, in dealing with this question, it is better to supplement and to add than to pull down, destroy, or alter.

We have at present three different systems of education at work in Ireland—namely, the purely denominational, the semi-denominational or mixed, and the united or secular system. Under the denominational system religious teaching is given to every student, every one of whom must submit to be taught by persons professing one particular creed. Under the second system, which is that adopted at Trinity College, religious instruction is given by teachers to all those who profess the religion of the institution, but no religious teaching is pressed upon those who profess a different faith. Under the third system, which is the one adopted at the Queen's Colleges, religious teaching does not form any part of the course of instruction given. Of these three systems, the second is that which has, in my opinion, been most successful in Ireland. The denominational system has failed to attract the complete confidence even of those who profess the religion of the schools where it is taught; and the secular system has been most fiercely assailed by persons of all classes and of all creeds. In Trinity College we find a system of teaching pursued which is acceptable to all who share in it, and which is looked upon without aversion by those who do not partake of it. You will find the same system in the non-vested schools of the National

Board—certainly the most successful portion of the primary teaching administered in Ireland. It has been said that the multiplication of Universities is a very great evil. A good deal may be said on that subject ; but, at the same time, I have, no doubt that several Universities may be established in a country with the greatest possible advantage. For instance, in Germany Universities are very numerous ; and no one will say that learning is not as far advanced there as in any other country in the world.

It appears to me, then, that a third University may be founded in Ireland without injuring the existing institutions. I believe that what is desirable is that a University should be established in that country, which would, as far as possible, stand in the same relation to the Roman Catholic population as Trinity College does to the Protestant. We do not propose to found an exact or servile imitation ; but we do consider that we should be taking a step which would be of the greatest public advantage, and which would tend very much to the furtherance of University education, if we were to establish an institution which should bear that character to a considerable extent. I hold that one feature of the new University should be that it should, after the first establishment, be as free as possible from Government control. I believe its constitution should be most carefully considered in the beginning ; that the strict precise rules should be laid down in its charter ; but that once these points were settled it should be left to walk alone, and should be relieved as far as possible from State interference. In my opinion, the success of the University must depend very much upon its independence, its self-reliance, and its autonomy ; and I believe that all the great ends we have in view can be thoroughly secured by a judicious constitution of its original charter.

We therefore propose to advise Her Majesty to grant a charter to a Roman Catholic University, to be constructed in

the following manner. The institution which it is proposed to create will not resemble the existing Roman Catholic University in Dublin. It is proposed that, in the first instance, a charter should be granted, in the same way as the charter was granted to the Queen's University; that the governing body, under the original constitution, should consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, four prelates, the President of Maynooth, six laymen, the heads of the Colleges to be at first affiliated, and five members to be elected, so as to represent the five educational faculties—all being Roman Catholics. Future vacancies should be filled up in the following manner. The Chancellor should be elected by Convocation, and the Vice-Chancellors should be appointed by the Chancellor. Four prelates should be nominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the President of Maynooth should form one of the governing body, the six laymen should be elected by Convocation, and the heads of the affiliated Colleges should be *ex officio* members of the Board; and, besides, five members should be elected according to the five faculties, so as to represent in the governing body the teaching power of the institution.

I believe that in this way we should provide all the elements of an independent and a healthy establishment; that ample security would be taken for the faith and morals of the pupils; that there would be a preponderating and influential lay element in the constitution; that the elective principle would be completely recognised; and that those engaged in the teaching of the Colleges, and the general body of the graduates, would have a potent voice in the selection of the governing body. To the University thus constituted we would give the power of holding University examinations, of granting degrees, of determining what Colleges should be affiliated, and the course of studies to be pursued.

Such is the proposal we intend to make. And here I wish to state to the House that in this matter we have entered into no negotiations or communications with anybody whatever. We have felt that, if given at all, the charter should be the gift, not of the Government, but of Parliament; and that we should be only doing our duty and redeeming the pledge given last year, in making our first announcement on this subject to the House of Commons. But though we have taken this course, it will be our duty, having announced our plan, to enter into communication as soon as possible with those most interested in the matter, with a view of carrying out our plans effectually, and in the way most acceptable to them. Keeping in view, therefore, the principles we think necessary,—namely, that there should be in the institution a powerful lay element, and that the elective principle should be fully recognised,—we shall be prepared to listen respectfully and carefully to all suggestions and communications that may be made to us, and to endeavour to suit the new University to the requirements of those for whose benefit it is intended. I think in the mode in which we have dealt with this question we have best complied with the wishes of the House. I believe that the failure of the supplemental charter last year and the year before was attributable very much to the fact that this House was not sufficiently consulted, and that it came upon Parliament and the country, as well as on the Queen's University, by surprise. We have adopted the opposite course—we have made our first confidence to the House of Commons, our first declaration here; and, seeing that this University question has long been a matter of dispute in Ireland, we offer a plan by which we believe it may be finally set at rest—a plan which will not interfere with the vitality or strength of existing institutions, but will supply everything which has been demanded by those whose religious scruples prevented them from taking

advantage of the present systems. With regard to endowment, it will be essential, of course, if Parliament agrees to the proposal, in the first instance to provide for the necessary expenses of the University—that is to say, the expenses of officers of the University, of the University Professors, and also to make some provision for a building. It is possible that if Parliament approves of the scheme, it may not be indisposed to endow certain University scholarships. But with regard to the endowment of Colleges, it is impossible to make any proposal of that nature at present; and to that extent the question will be left open to future consideration. It is not, therefore, contemplated to submit any scheme for the endowment of the Colleges in connection with the University.

Sir, there is one other question which has greatly occupied the public mind. The Irish Church, after a slumber of nearly thirty years, has again become a subject of first-rate political importance. It has been urged by many that this question should be at once settled; and though the state of the Irish Church has of late years considerably improved, the principle on which it is founded remaining the same, it is contended that some sudden and immediate action should be taken in the matter. The abolition of the Church is described as a measure which will restore peace and heal the wounds of Ireland. That statement I believe to be incapable of proof, because whatever dissatisfaction may arise from the existence of the Irish Church—and I would not for a moment deny that dissatisfaction and dislike to the Establishment does exist among certain classes—the present contest is nothing to what would be raised over its dead body. The Irish Church may be for many years a subject of ecclesiastical jealousy; it may be a constant theme for political declamation; possibly, too, it may in a short time become the subject of a party struggle; but nobody will ever persuade me that

the Irish Roman Catholic farmer or labourer who, in passing the house of a minister of the Established Church, toward whose maintenance he does not contribute one shilling, but whom he has long known as a good neighbour and as a kind friend—I never will believe that he regards the existence of that man as an intolerable grievance or a badge of oppression. For my own part, I believe that if the Irish Church is overthrown, that overthrow can only be effected after a long and painful struggle—a struggle which must inevitably tend to the increase and aggravation of those discords and religious hatreds which have produced such evils in the community. The Protestants of Ireland are content with the system which prevails, but are not averse to improvements, and to such alterations of ecclesiastical arrangements as would make their Church better fitted to meet the wants of modern times. But we must not prescribe hastily. Of all the schemes which have been proposed I object pre-eminently to that known as the process of ‘levelling down.’ It is said that if you cannot elevate and raise the institutions so as to make them equal, the only thing to do is to abolish them altogether. I object to that policy. I think that proposals for universal levelling down are the worst of all propositions. If it is desired to make our Churches more equal in position than they are, this result should be secured by elevation and restoration, and not by confiscation and degradation. The despoiled will always feel much more aggrieved than those who have lost nothing; and I am certain that if so evil a day should come that a British statesman should stand victorious on the ruins of the Irish Church, he would have achieved a triumph which would create few friends to British rule in Ireland, and would not fail to alienate the feelings and wound the susceptibilities of the large and influential section of the community to whom we are bound by every tie of sympathy and interest.

We seek for no religious ascendancy nor party domination; but we do ask the House to support those who in Ireland have endeavoured, through storm and sunshine, to sustain British laws and British institutions, and to maintain good government and freedom in the land. There has existed among us for some time a desperate conspiracy, which has had for its object the overthrow of British rule and the dismemberment of the British Empire. You cannot extinguish it by rash and inconsiderate legislation. Do not imagine for a moment, however, that we think nothing can be done. We believe that, as long as there is so much poverty, so little industry, so great an amount of party strife and religious rancour, so long will there be evils to be remedied and grievances to be redressed. Listen, therefore, to all complaints which are fairly made and moderately expressed; examine them carefully, and endeavour to discover whether they are well founded or groundless; pass them by if they are baseless—remedy them if they are substantial; and, above all, let us endeavour to do something more than we have hitherto done in the way of fostering a truly national spirit; for I believe there is no mode in which we can appeal more forcibly and effectively to the feelings of the Irish people than by supporting measures and promoting objects which bear a national character and tone. But though we should do all this, let us refuse—absolutely refuse—to change our laws or alter our institutions at the bidding of those who come among us from a foreign land to foment rebellion and civil strife. And if you look for support in Ireland herself, she will not fail you. There is a class in Ireland—a daily increasing class—which comprises within its limits men of all creeds and of all shades of political and religious belief. It includes within its ranks all those who possess the land, who direct the industry, and who, by their intelligence, character, and education, can pretend to guide

anything that is sound in the public opinion of the country. A spirit of patriotism and a love of country, as pure and as ardent as are to be found among any people in the world, animate their breasts. Their faces are not turned towards the West ; for in their consciences they believe that every hope for their country or her advancement, for her welfare, her prosperity, and her liberty, is indissolubly bound up in British connection. They desire—and, what is more, they intend—that their sons should be, as they themselves and their fathers have been, sharers in your greatness and your glory, your freedom and your power. They will with unswerving fidelity cling to the principles to which they have long adhered, and their best and dearest hope for their country is, that the day may not be far distant when, not by penal laws or legislative restrictions, but by the irresistible logic of oft-repeated and continued facts, the whole mass of their countrymen may be brought to acknowledge, and, in acknowledging, to appreciate, the countless blessings which a free Constitution pours on the heads of a loyal and united people.

END OF VOLUME I.

